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AND
JOURNAL

OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

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I.

SOME NOTES ON SICILIAN COINS.

(See Plate L)

I.—AN UNPUBLISHED VARIETY OF A SYRACUSAN TETRADRACHM.

THE following coin is, so far as I am aware, at present undescribed :—

Obv.—Four-horse chariot to r., horses walking. Above, Victory crowning the horses. In exergue, an olive-branch.

Rev.—ΣΥΡΑ. ΟΣ. . . N. Female head to r. with spiral earring. The hair in a pointed saccos, or cap. Around, four dolphins.

R. 1.1 to 1.3. Wt. 262 grs. Tetradrachm.

[Pl. I. 2.]

The coin is struck on an unusually large flan, and is in fair condition, but has been rather ruthlessly cleaned. It belongs to a well-known type, coins bearing the head with the hair in a pointed saccos being amongst the finest of those usually classed as transitional, and coming quite at that end of that series. The arrangement of the dolphins is a little unusual, three of them being close together immediately in front of the face.

The interest lies in the obverse. The horses are dignified and well-proportioned, but the treatment is perhaps still a little stiff. They must be described, I suppose, as a quadriga, but all the conventional signs of the four horses seem to have been discarded, and it is

difficult not to look on it as an ordinary well-executed biga. On coins of this type, the exergue is usually plain¹; on this coin there is an olive-branch. It remains to ask whether there is any particular reason for this symbol.

It seems probable that, at any rate in a considerable number of cases, the symbol in the exergue has a meaning. Three instances which are fairly certain may be mentioned. It is difficult to doubt the significance of the lion on the Damareteion, and on the contemporary coins of Leontini as signifying the defeat of the Carthaginian army. The association of the pistrix on coins of Hieron, both at Syracuse and Gela, with the victory over the Etruscans at Cumae is, at any rate, probable. At a later date, the design in the exergue of the Syracusan medallions seems undoubtedly to refer to the Assinarian games instituted in memory of the great victory over the Athenians. We are justified, therefore, in asking if a reason can be found for the "olive-branch" in the exergue of this Syracusan coin.²

It was pointed out to me by Mr. Forrer, when I first obtained the coin, that it bears some resemblance in its fabric, and in the character of the obverse, to the coins of Gela. It may be noted that the olive-branch is a favourite device of the Gela mint. In the well-known Sosipolis coin the nymph or goddess is placing a wreath on the head of the tamed man-faced bull. On many coins we find an olive-wreath over the quadriga, in place of the more usual Nike. On the rare didrachm, representing

¹ See Head, "On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Syracuse" (*Num. Chron.*, New Series, Vol. xiv., 1874, p. 12). It may be noticed that a large number which I have examined are struck on so small a flan that it is impossible to say whether or no there was a symbol in the exergue.

² See Pl. I. Nos. 3-7.

a horseman overthrowing a foot-soldier, struck very probably in commemoration of the prowess of the Geloan horsemen and the defeat of the Athenians, the head of the river-god is surrounded by olive-branches. It seemed to me, however, very probable that a closer analogy might be found, and, after a little search, I had the good luck to come across the following coin in Mr. Lincoln's stock, which also I believe to be an undescribed variety:—

Obv.—Four-horse chariot to r., horses walking. Above, Victory crowning the horses. In exergue, an olive-branch.

Rev.—CEΛΑΣ. Fore-part of man-faced bull of refined type, swimming to r. Below, a fish.

AR. 95. Wt. 262.5 grs. Tetradrachm.

[Pl. I. 1.]

The coin belongs to the late transitional period. The horses, although well-proportioned, are still somewhat stiff. The conventional method of indicating the four horses is still retained. The man-faced bull is of a late refined type with short horns, but a little earlier than the hornless head on coins of the best period with the racing chariots. So far as I am able to judge, the Syracusan and Geloan coins represent the same period of artistic development, and may be contemporary. Is the similarity of the design in the exergue a mere accident, or was there some reason for inserting it?

We may, at any rate, attempt to find an occasion when there was some close connection between Gela and Syracuse. And an incident at once arises to our mind. In the year 424 a truce was made between Gela and Camarina,³ and the two cities then sent to their

³ See Freeman, *History of Sicily*, vol. iii. 45-67, and the authorities there given. The narrative is based on Thucydides, iv. 58-65.

•
respective allies, urging a general agreement. A congress was held at Gela, and is described by Thucydides, who gives a famous speech made by Hermocrates. The result was that all the cities made peace with one another. From this time until the Athenian expedition in 415 (for most of the cities until the Carthaginian invasion), there was, so far as we know, peace among the tribes of Sicily and great commercial prosperity.

It is suggested that it is not unreasonable to connect the similarity of symbol between the coins of the two cities with this event. It may be noted that, while we find an exactly similar resemblance during the reign of Hieron, after that date the coins of Gela and Syracuse tend to diverge from one another, nor is there, during the middle of the fifth century, any resemblance in symbol or type apart from what comes from the common origin. There are, therefore, *prima facie* grounds for believing that this resemblance may have a cause; but the question, at once connects itself with a larger question, the dates of the Syracusan coins, and in particular the date at which the great series of signed tetradrachms began.

II.—THE DATE OF THE SIGNED TETRADRACHMS.

At what period did the great series of signed tetradrachms begin at Syracuse and throughout Sicily generally? As this question is still undecided, it may be worth while putting together a few notes on the point. If we take the series of Syracusan coins from the reign of Hieron onwards, there is a remarkable and steady artistic development until the close

of what is usually called the transitional period, followed by rather marked and sudden advance in freedom and power of treatment. Some of the transitional coins are more pleasing and better artistically than some of the later ones, but they are always more severe. The change is undoubted, and generally clearly marked; exactly when it took place is still doubtful. Mr. Head,¹ in his paper on the chronology of the coins of Syracuse, places the signed coins all after 412. Dr. Arthur Evans² is quite determined that Dionysius shall get no credit for anything good. He therefore throws the beginning of the period of the signed coins back as early as 440, and doubts whether any tetradrachms were struck by Dionysius. Holm³ thinks that 440 is too early, but is prepared to accept 430. I would suggest that the beginnings of the period of the finest art and of the signed coins should be put about the year 420.

If we examine the sequence of the coins of Syracuse from the Damareteion to which we can assign an exact date to the close of the transitional period, the advance in artistic power is very remarkable, and a period of from fifty to sixty years is not too long for the development required; nor is it possible to accept the theory that the issue of tetradrachms ceased with the accession of Dionysius, although it is probable that some considerable time before the end of his tyranny it did cease.

Some evidence in favour of a date about 420 or a little earlier may be deduced from the coinage of Leontini.

¹ Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-22.

² Evans, *Syracusan Medallions*, pp. 149, 150.

³ Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens*, iii. p. 615.

That city was merged in Syracuse in the year 422,⁷ and apparently after that date it ceased to issue coins. It is to be noted at once that there are no coins of Leontini known with artists' signatures, and no coins which show any influence of the leading artists. The tetradrachms take us to the close of the transitional period. Holm⁸ has noticed this fact and its bearing, but would consider its activity in producing coins likely to have ceased about the year 430. There is, however, no reason for thinking that it did not continue to issue coins up to the year 422. Leontini, then, ceased to issue coins just at the time when the great wave of artistic coin-production spread through Sicily.

It is impossible for me at present to follow Dr. Evans through all his acute and interesting investigations, but some reference may be made to one suggestion of his which from any point of view presents difficulties. He draws attention, in his *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics*,⁹ to the symbol of the dolphins facing one another in the exergue of certain coins of Syracuse and Messana.¹⁰ The symbol is a remarkable one, and is not in the least likely to have been devised independently by two different designers. He ascribes the origin of it to the alliance between Messana and Syracuse in the year 425, which continued more or less intermittently until about 415. The symbol in question occurs on a considerable variety of coins of Messana and on some of the earlier signed tetradrachms of Syracuse, especially

⁷ Freeman, *History of Sicily*, iii. 67-71.

⁸ Holm, *op. cit.*, iii. p. 607.

⁹ Evans, *Contributions to Sicilian Numismatics*, ii. pp. 17-22 (*Num. Chron.*, xvi. Third Series, 1896).

¹⁰ *PL. I. Nos. 8, 9.*

those connected with the name of Euaenetus. But on any theory there are difficulties. If we accept Dr. Evans' dates as to the artistic development of Sicilian coinage, it is difficult to place some of the coins of Messana on which the symbol occurs so late as 425. As Mr. Hill writes, "The number of coins with this symbol in the exergue is so considerable that, on this hypothesis, their issue must, as Dr. Evans recognizes, have continued for some time after the conclusion of peace between Messana and Athens in the next year—perhaps even after the advent of the Athenian expedition. But to judge from the comparatively stiff style of many of the coins of Messana with two dolphins, it seems more probable that in that city at least the symbol was adopted earlier than 425."¹¹

The treatment of the mule biga on the earliest of these coins corresponds almost exactly with that of the chariot and horses on the coins of Syracuse and Gela which we have just considered. All these represent approximately the same period. It is, however, undoubtedly true that all the coins of Syracuse (so far as at present known) in which the two dolphins occur are later in style. There is no difficulty in supposing that the symbol would be continued for some years after it was introduced, but we should certainly expect that 425 would be the date of its introduction, and the earliest coins on which it occurs should be of a type corresponding to the coins of Messana.

There is a unique coin described in one of Hirsch's recent sale catalogues,¹² which must be referred to in this connection, although its exact bearing on the particular

¹¹ See Hill, *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 71.

¹² No. 252, Hirsch's Catalogue, No. xix., Monday, Nov. 11, 1907.

problem before us may not be quite clear. This is a coin bearing the signature of Eumenes, but transitional in character. The obverse is an ordinary walking quadriga exactly similar to that on many other coins between 460 and 420. The head of Arethusa on the reverse also belongs to the late transitional period, and resembles some of those so classed by Du Chastel.¹² Under the head is the signature YONEMYE. The existence of this coin clearly proves that some at any rate of the later transitional coins were the work of the artists to whom we owe the signed tetradrachma. To me it would also suggest that the transitional period probably continued later than Dr. Evans would allow; but this second conclusion may be less certain.

The conclusions I should like to suggest with regard to the two coins we are considering are—

(1) That the symbol of the olive-branch occurring both on coins of Syracuse and on coins of Gela is probably not accidental, but refers to some alliance or treaty between the two cities. There is a reason for it, just as in the reign of Hieron there was a reason for the pistrix appearing on coins both at Syracuse and Gela.

(2) That the most probable occasion to which it might be ascribed would be the union between the cities of Sicily, inaugurated at Gela in 424.

(3) If this be so, it will be necessary to date coins of the late transitional period about ten to fifteen years later than Dr. Evans has done, and to postpone the beginning of the highest development of art to the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.

Certain other considerations support this view, and if

¹² Du Chastel, *Syracuse*, 43.

it be correct, it makes the great development of Sicilian art as shown in its coins coincide with the period of internal peace and prosperity inaugurated by the congress at Gela. The rapid manner in which the new art spread throughout Sicily, the celerity with which the different cities copied the new designs, the easy intercourse, shown by the fact that the same artists worked in so many different places, all suggest that we have the reflection of the period of peace, of friendly intercourse between city and city, and of great commercial prosperity, which was so ruthlessly destroyed by the great Carthaginian invasion of 409.

III.—THE COINAGE OF GELON AND HIERON.

Previous to the reign of Gelon there were very few coins struck in Sicily. Naxos, Messana, and Himera had produced their drachms of the Aeginetan standard. Syracuse had since the beginning of the fifth century coined tetradrachms and didrachms of the Attic standard, and Selinus had perhaps begun to issue its well-known didrachms with the parsley-leaf. I very much doubt whether any of the coins of Agragas are earlier than the reign of Theron. Such currency as there was throughout the greater part of Sicily was probably supplied by archaic Attic tetradrachms, which have been found in the island in considerable numbers, and had very early obtained a wide circulation. Gelon had become ruler of Gela in 491; in 488 he won the four-horse chariot race at Olympia; in 485 he made himself ruler of Syracuse, and for seven years his dominions included Syracuse, Gela, Leontini, Naxos, and Catana. Probably not long after 485 he issued a coinage for the

three cities of Syracuse, Gela, and Leontini, uniform in character. Syracuse had already taken to the four-horse chariot as the principal type of its coinage. This Gelon adopted, and added the figure of Nike crowning the horses and the charioteer in memory of his victory. For all three cities the type on the obverse was the same—the four-horse chariot, with Victory above—and it is the significance of this fact that I wish to emphasize. It is customary in the case of the coins of Syracuse to consider the female head the more important type, and so no doubt it speedily became; but for that reason a careless method has grown up of describing the reverse side as the obverse.¹⁴ This error was first noticed by Mr. Hill, who points out that the chariot is on the obverse. This means that originally it was the more important type, and the error in the customary descriptions really conceals an important historical fact. The coinage was the coinage of Gelon himself, and not of any of the cities. He adopted the same type for the three cities which he ruled, and in each case added on the reverse the symbol of the particular city; the name of the city, too, appearing almost invariably on the reverse. For Syracuse the female head—probably that of Arethusa, which had already appeared in the centre of the incuse of the older coins—was adopted as the symbol of the city, surrounded by four dolphins as a sign of its maritime greatness. For Leontini the lion's head was an obvious symbol; it was surrounded by four grains of barley as a sign of the fertility

¹⁴ So Head, *Coins of Syracuse*, p. 7, writes, "The female head from the centre of the incuse square on the earlier coinage now becomes the principal type of the obverse." Holm also describes the head as on the obverse, and so does the British Museum Catalogue. The mistake is noticed in Hill's *Coins of Ancient Sicily*, p. 45.

of the *Campi Leontini*. Gela was famous for its river, which had had a character for ferocity in ancient times and gave its name to the city. There was a statue, we are told, in the city representing it as a man-headed bull, and this was adopted as the symbol on the coins. As time went on, the dynasty of the Deinomenidae passed away, the symbol of the city became the more important, and the four-horsed chariot clearly became the less important type, which was dropped altogether, as at Leontini and on some of the coins of Gela. But originally, it is important to remember, it was the four-horsed chariot that was the principal type, as the symbol of the horse-loving dynasty that ruled over the three cities which were so closely united together in the type of the coins. The coinage was originally the coinage of a dynasty, and not of a city.¹⁵

These coins continued to be struck, in the case of all three cities, throughout the reign of Gelon, and probably in the early years of Hieron. They are common; the reason being that after the victory of Himera, an immense amount of booty was obtained. For the first time, probably, Sicily was wealthy in the precious metals, and coins were doubtless issued in great numbers. To this reason also Dr. Evans ascribes the great variety that there is in the coins of Syracuse and, we might add, in those of Gela. Mints, he thinks, must have been opened in more than one temple. But although there is great variety of detail in the coins of this period, they are all distinguished by the archaic and crude character of the horses—sometimes conspicuous for long legs, sometimes for short ones, and by the absence of any symbol in the

¹⁵ Pl. I. Nos. 10-12.

exergue. On the coins of Gela the head of the river-god is archaic and ferocious. In some the hair is represented by dots, as the hair of Arethusa on the earlier Syracusan coins; in some he has a long beard, which is swept forward by the waters of the stream.

As part of his system of coinage, Gelon issued at Syracuse didrachms, drachms, litras, and obols, distinguished by two horses, one horse, the sepia, and the wheel. The coinages of both Gela and Leontini show their common origin by approximating to the same system. At Gela the head of the man-faced bull, as at Syracuse the head of Arethusa, occurs on all coins, with this difference, that it is always on the reverse, while at Syracuse on the smaller coins the head is on the obverse. The didrachms and drachms have one of the famous Gelonian horsemen brandishing a spear; the litra has a horse with the bridle hanging down loose; and the obol, like the obol of Syracuse, a wheel. At Leontini we have not only didrachms, drachms, and obols or litras, but the hemilitron, pentonkion, and hexas.

It is needless to point out that the similarity of the Damareteion to the contemporary tetradrachms of Leontini helps to show that we are dealing with a coinage which is primarily that of a dynasty and not of cities.

One more point may be noticed in relation to the coinage of Gelon at Syracuse. There are two varieties. In the earlier, Syracuse is spelt with a *koppa*, in the later with a *kappa*. It has been sometimes suggested that those with a *koppa* belong to a period before the time of Gelon. That this is not the case has, I think, been sufficiently shown by the account which I have given of the origin of the coinage, but interesting corroborative evidence is given by contemporary inscriptions. In the inscription

on the base of the tripod which Gelon offered at Olympia in 479, he describes himself as a Syracusan, spelling the word with a *koppa*,¹⁶ while Hieron, on the helmet he dedicated after the battle of Cumae, uses the form with a *kuppa*.¹⁷ Even allowing for the fact that, while one inscription is Doric, the other is the work of an Ionian artist, the corroboration is striking.

Coins similar to the above continued probably to be issued during the reign of Hieron, but two new variations were introduced. In 474 Hieron defeated the Etruscans by sea at Cumae. It is generally considered that the pistrix, or sea-monster, which occurs in the exergue of the coins of Syracuse during his reign, was suggested by this victory. But why did not Hieron attempt to rival the Damareteion by coining a decadrachm? It is interesting to note that the same symbol occurs on coins of Gela which undoubtedly belong to about this period. It is interesting as one more link between the coins of the two cities reflecting their political union. On these coins, as well as on others without a symbol in the exergue, there is a second variation—a meta, or goal-post, appears

¹⁶ The inscription runs—

Γέλων δ' Δεινομένεος
ἀνέθηκε τῷ ἑλλάνωνι
Συρακούσιος.
Τὴν ἐπίποδα καὶ τὴν ἑλκεν ἐργασάτο
Βίον Διοδόρου υἱὸς Μελίσσιος.

Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*,² No. 16.

¹⁷ The inscription is—

Ἰάβρον δ' Δεινομένεος
καὶ τοῖ Συρακούσιος
τοῖ Δι Τυρδῶ' ἀπὸ Κέμας.

Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*,² No. 22.

This well-known inscription has been quoted by Head, *On the Coins of Syracuse*, p. 10 (*Num. Chron.*, xiv., 1874).

The weights are taken from my own specimens and those in the British Museum. I have assumed that, in copper coins, it is not the highest weight, but an average or approximate weight, which must be taken. The round numbers are adopted for convenience.

I have not at present been able to find any particular reason for this type appearing on a coin of Syracuse. There is, of course, nothing inappropriate in it. Pan and the syrinx are symbols on some of the coins of Messana in the fifth century. The head of Pan with the syrinx occurs on coins of Arcadia¹⁸ between 370 and 280, but the type shows no resemblance. The closest analogy is in a head of Pan on some coins of Pericles of Lycia¹⁹ (380-362). In the last case it is interesting to notice that it is accompanied by the triskeles, a symbol which Syracuse under Agathocles shares with Lycia.²⁰

In conclusion, I have only to thank the authorities of the British Museum, and especially Mr. G. F. Hill, who has been my chief instructor in numismatics, for all the assistance they have given me.

ARTHUR C. HEADLAM.

¹⁸ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 373.

¹⁹ B.M.C., *Lycia*, 1589; Head, *op. cit.*, p. 574.

²⁰ Since the above was written, I have had the good fortune to secure a specimen of the coin mentioned above, with a wheel and two dolphins bearing on the front of the sphendone the signature EV (? Eucleides), see *Catalogue d'une Collection de Monnaies Antiques Grande-Grèce et Sicile* Paris, Dec. 19-21, 1907.

II.

A LARGE HOARD OF GOLD AND SILVER ANCIENT BRITISH COINS OF THE BRI- GANTES, FOUND AT SOUTH FERRIBY, LINCOLNSHIRE, IN 1906.

(See Plates II.-VI.)

ON June 27, 1906, I read a paper entitled, "A Find of Ancient British Coins at South Ferriby, near Barton-on-Humber, Lincolnshire," at a meeting of the British Numismatic Society, which is published in Vol. iii. of the *Transactions* of that Society. In that paper I described 18 silver and 7 gold coins, which constituted, so far as I could ascertain, all the specimens which had been found in that locality during the last thirty years. The gold coins are of very base metal, with the exception of two, and are uninscribed: the silver coins are also uninscribed, except two. I had to thank Sir John Evans, Mr. P. Carlyon Britton, and Mr. Thos. Sheppard, for the loan of most of the coins described, only two belonging to my cabinet.

Shortly afterwards this large hoard, which had recently been found, came into my possession: it consists of 64 gold staters of very pure metal, and one contemporary forgery of copper plated with gold, and of 45 silver coins. With the exception of a few silver coins, the whole of the hoard is in my cabinet. They were all found close together embedded in the boulder clay, which

had been exposed by the action of the sea. If they were ever contained in a receptacle, it had been probably of wood or some perishable material, as I was assured that the coins were in direct contact with the clay, and that the only objects found with them were a few bronze fibulae, the copper of which had much tarnished and encrusted the silver coins.

In my paper already referred to, I described the locality of the hoard as follows: "On the South Humber shore there is a bank of boulder clay and gravel, nearly a mile long, which runs between South Ferriby Hall and the Ferriby Chalk Pit. This bank is really an ancient glacial moraine. About midway along the cliff is a spring, which comes up from the chalk below. Around this spring was a small Roman encampment. During the past forty years or so, the Humber has been washing this cliff away to a serious extent, several acres having entirely gone."

The *Gold* coins are 65 in number, and, with the exception of one contemporary forgery (copper plated with gold) they are all of apparently very pure gold, and compare very favourably in that respect with any other series of ancient British gold coins. They have never been cleaned in any way, and they were as bright when first found as they are at the present time. Sir John Evans says that the gold of which the coins of the Brigantes is struck, is very base, so much so that in some cases they hardly deserve the name of gold. This was also true of several of the gold coins described in my paper already mentioned. The finding of this new hoard will necessitate a modification of this opinion. It is unfortunate that not a single coin has the slightest indication of being inscribed.

The obverse (convex) of these 65 gold coins may be described generally in the words of Sir John Evans as representing a portion of a laureate head to the right. The leaves of the wreath, rectangular and set at some distance apart, are turned upwards or downwards according as they are above or below the cross bandlet, which is bifurcated at the face-end, *i.e.* on the right; each limb of the bifurcation of the cross bandlet, if represented on the coin, ends in a solid crescent with concavity to the right, usually with a solid crescent turned in the opposite direction joining it. In addition, pellets and a peculiar note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet are often present, either below or above the two twin crescents, according as the cross bandlet happens to cross the field nearer the upper or the lower margin of the coin. Beyond them again, *i.e.* further to the right, in some cases when there is sufficient space, from the wreath being nearer the opposite or left margin of the coin, we find a straight ridge beyond which is a lower level of the field of the coin. On one specimen (see below, No. 47, p. 36) this lower level is ornamented with a peculiar device. On the opposite side of the wreath there are several locks of the back hair, each usually terminating in three spikes or curls.

Sir John Evans has described in general terms the horse on the reverse of these Brigantes' staters as an extremely rude disjointed horse moving to the left; but after a study of these 65 specimens, it is possible to distinguish much method in this so-called rudeness of design, which I will try to explain as follows: On every reverse, with one exception (No. 63), the trunk of the horse, which is moving to the left, is composed of five solid crescents arranged very methodically (see Fig. A): a

neck crescent, placed more or less vertically with convexity to the right; at its upper extremity is the large pellet forming the eye or commencement of the head, from which spring the two curved lines with concavity to the left, representing the ears, and the apex of the triangle forming the rest of the head or mouth. In front, *i.e.* to the left, is a *chest* crescent with convexity to the left, which is often attached by its upper end to the middle of the concavity of the neck crescent. Below, with its left end usually between the points of the neck and

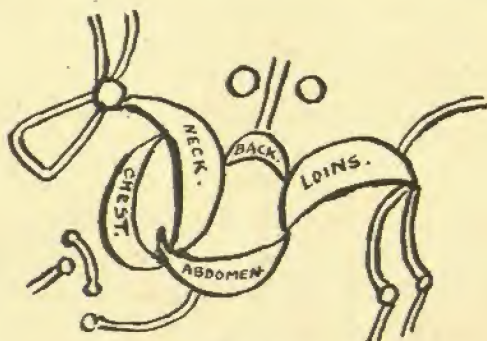


FIG. A.

chest crescents, is an *abdomen* crescent with convexity downwards: to the middle of the convexity of the abdomen crescent is usually attached the upper extremity of one of the fore-legs. The right end of the abdomen crescent is usually connected with the left end of the *loins* crescent, which has its convexity upwards and to which is attached the rat-like tail. The neck and loins crescents are in most cases connected by a small *back* crescent with convexity upwards; to which a straight line is usually joined on T-wise: this line terminates in several peculiar ways when there is sufficient space left

on the field of the coin, and in most cases there is a large pellet on each side of it.

I will now proceed to describe the coins.

No. 1.¹ *Obverse* (convex) has very faint traces of the wreath, &c., and might almost be described as plain.

Reverse (concave). Horse to the left, with the chest crescent joined to the neck crescent; only an indication of the ears and of the fore-legs is present, but the hind-legs are very distinct, with pellets representing the hocks. Below the horse is a large star of eight fine rays springing from a small pellet; beneath the tail is a pellet. A straight line is joined on T-wise to the back crescent with a pellet on either side (comp. Evans, Pl. xvii. 10, 11, and 12): in mint condition. Weight, 86·5 grs.

No. 2. *Obverse* (convex) is, if anything, even more plain than that of No. 1.

Reverse (concave) is very similar to that of No. 1, but the star below the horse has a larger central pellet, with only six instead of eight rays, which are coarser; below the tail are three pellets: very fine. Weight, 84·7 grs.

No. 3. *Obverse* (convex) is almost plain, like Nos. 1 and 2.

Reverse (concave). The crescents forming the horse are somewhat merged together, and the loins crescent reaches the chest crescent, separating the neck and abdomen crescents. The back crescent is indicated by a short line, from which springs at right angles a straight line with a pellet on each side; the upper end of the straight line terminates in a segment of a curve with

¹ These numbers correspond to those on the Plates (see Pl. II-VI.).

concavity upwards,—an arrangement not previously known. In front of the horse's head is a segment of a circle. Weight, 83·7 grs.

No. 4. *Obverse* (convex) has rather more marked indications of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave). The horse's head is badly struck. The back crescent does not touch, as usual, the neck and loins crescents, and from its upper or convex side springs a curved line which curls to the left, almost completing a circle and enclosing a pellet. Between this curved line and the tail is half a large ring ornament. There is also a pellet below the back crescent, and another above the loins crescent. This reverse is a new variety. Weight, 83·3 grs.

No. 5. *Obverse* (convex) has some traces of the wreath and other characteristics of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave). The back crescent touches the neck and loins crescents, and has a somewhat similar curled line extending upwards from it and enclosing a pellet, as on No. 4. There are indications of a ring ornament above the loins crescent. Below the horse is a star, of which only four rays are visible. Between the pellet representing the commencement of the fore-leg and the chest crescent from which it usually springs, is a short curved line with each extremity ending in a pellet like a curved dumb-bell, with concavity towards the leg, somewhat like the semicircle connecting two pellets in Evans, Pl. D, 1. Weight, 85·4 grs.

No. 6. *Obverse* (convex) shows some traces of the wreath, &c., of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave). The neck and chest crescents are widely joined together, while the abdomen, back, and loins crescents are separate. In the centre of the horse between

the abdomen and back crescents is a peculiar boot-shaped object, with the toe part directed upwards and the heel to the right, which only exists on this single specimen of the whole series. The curved dumb-bell is present, as on the previous coin, and from the middle of the back crescent is a vertical line, curled to the left, enclosing a pellet, as well as a portion of a large ring ornament as on Nos. 4 and 5. Below the horse is a star of six rays, with a rather large central pellet. This is again a new variety of reverse. Weight, 85 grs.

No. 7. *Obverse* (convex) has faint traces of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave). The head and fore-legs of the horse are fully shown, and the five crescents of the trunk are all joined together. The six-rayed star with pellet in the centre has four out of its six rays joined to the legs and abdomen crescent of the horse. Only a small portion of the vertical line placed T-wise on the back crescent with its two pellets on either side is visible. Weight, 83·6 grs.

No. 8. *Obverse* (convex) is almost plain, except for a crescentic groove along one-third of its margin.

Reverse (concave). A portion of the horse's head is off the coin, but the fore-legs and one hind-leg are complete. The five crescents of the horse are all joined together, and the seven-rayed star with large central pellet has four rays connected with the horse. Scarcely anything of the vertical line on the back crescent is visible. Weight, 84 grs.

No. 9. *Obverse* (convex) has some faint indications of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave) has the design of the horse imperfectly executed, with close vertical striations extending

from above over the whole field, apparently caused by the instrument employed in cutting the die, which has been used before completion. There is a large pellet below the horse's tail. The rayed star below is irregular and imperfect. Weight, 83.1 grs.

No. 10. *Obverse* (convex) is nearly plain, except for very faint indications of the degenerate head.

Reverse (concave). The horse's head and five crescents are well shown, as is also the eight-rayed star beneath them. There is a large pellet on each side of the vertical line on the back crescent. Weight, 83.5 grs.

No. 11. *Obverse* (convex) is nearly plain, with faint indications of the degenerate head, and with a groove near the margin of the coin for nearly half its circumference.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents of the horse's trunk are crowded and joined together, and the abdomen one is nearly vertical. The eight-rayed star below has a large central pellet. Weight, 83.9 grs.

Nos. 12, 13, and 14 are all three from the same obverse and reverse dies.

Obverses (convex) show precisely similar faint indications of the degenerate head, with the transverse band of the wreath plainly visible.

Reverses (concave). The neck and chest crescents are conjoined, and only the fore-legs are given on the coins. The curved dumb-bell object between the chest crescent and one fore-leg is well shown, especially on No. 12. The portion visible of the eight-rayed star with central pellet has the same ray bifid on each of the three specimens. There are four pellets below the horse's mouth on No. 12, but only two of these are visible on Nos. 13 and 14. The back crescent is off the coin on No. 12, but it

is duplicated on Nos. 13 and 14. A further proof of the identity of the three reverses is given by the presence of a faint line joining the lower corner of the horse's mouth to the upper pellet of the curved dumb-bell, which can easily be made out in each specimen. Weights, 84 grs., 87·7 grs., and 85·2 grs. respectively. It is interesting to note the different weights, although from the same dies.

No. 15. *Obverse* (convex). Portions of the degenerate laureate bust to the right, consisting of the wreath with billet-shaped leaves all running in the same direction, upwards and outwards, between three-spiked locks of hair to the left, and an open crescent and large irregular globules and pellets to the right. (The obverses of Nos. 15, 17, and 37 are from the same die.)

Reverse (concave). The horse's head is almost off the coin, but all four legs are well indicated, as well as the five crescents constituting its trunk, although the back crescent is also nearly off the field. The fore-legs are bifid above the knees, viz. composed of two V's, with apices at the pellets forming the knees, similar to the arrangement seen on the silver coins. Three legs reach down to an exergual line composed of large pellets joined together. Below the horse is a seven-rayed star with large central pellet. This is a new variety for the reverse of these Brigantes' coins, and is a connecting link with those of the Iceni (comp. Evans, Pl. xxiii. 5, 6, &c., for the reverses). Weight, 83·7 grs.

No. 16. *Obverse* (convex) shows a portion of the wreath composed of nine billet-shaped leaves running upwards and outwards in pairs, except the ninth or last one, which is placed vertically above and between the topmost pair. The two locks of hair behind are long, and end

each in three spikes. Below them is a pellet with a tail. A single pellet on the edge of the coin is the only indication of the face. This obverse presents a new variety of the wreath.

Reverse (concave). The horse has the same bifid upper portions of the fore-legs as on No. 15, but, instead of the rayed star beneath it, there is a wheel of four spokes. The horse's head, so far as it is indicated, is totally different from that on any other gold coin in this hoard. It consists of a concave lower portion, with concavity upwards, below a large pellet, apparently representing the eye (compare this head with that of the inscribed Brigantes' gold coins, Evans, Pl. xvii. 1, 2, and 3). The five crescents of the horse's trunk are all conjoined, and the vertical line placed T-wise on the back crescent ends above in two small crescents with convexity towards the horse, while the usual pellets on each side are absent. This reverse is an unpublished variety. Weight, 84.7 grs.

No. 17. *Obverse* (convex) is from the same die as that of Nos. 15 and 37, but with rather less of the elements of the face present.

Reverse (concave). Only three legs of the horse are on the coin, and the back crescent is close to the margin, but there is just an indication of the insertion of the vertical line. The head has the usual triangular shape, with large pellet at the apex. The upper portions of the fore-legs are bifid, but, unlike those on Nos. 15 and 16, the lower line of each bifurcation is curved, with convexity downwards instead of being straight. Below the horse is a six-rayed star with central pellet. This is a new variety for the reverse. Weight, 85.4 grs.

No. 18. *Obverse* (convex). The leaves of the wreath are small rectangles, set at some distance apart and diverging upwards or downwards according as they are above or below the line representing the cross bandlet, which is connected with two rather blurred solid crescents, within each of whose concavities is a small v-shaped figure. Between the two solid crescents is a third solid one, turned in the opposite direction. The locks of hair are faintly indicated on the other side of the wreath.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents forming the horse's trunk are more or less joined together; below is a globule surrounded by a circle of small dots, and still lower is an ornamental exergual line, somewhat like the ladder-like one in Evans, Pl. xxiii. 5. The pellet in front of the chest crescent is the commencement of the other fore-leg. This coin is somewhat similar to Evans, Pl. C, 1, the provenance of which is unknown. Weight, 85·5 grs.

No. 19. *Obverse* (convex) is very similar to the obverse of No. 18, but the details are much more distinct for two-thirds of the field.

Reverse (concave) is badly struck and much blurred, and is probably also similar to the reverse of No. 18. Weight, 87 grs.

Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25 are interesting because all six obverses are from the same die, and the reverses of Nos. 20 and 21 are also from a similar die. (The obverses of Nos. 40, 56, 57, and 65 are also from the same die.)

Obverses (convex). A cross bar or bandlet divides almost equally each field, and is bifurcated at one extremity, viz. towards the right, which represents the

face. Each bifurcation ends in a solid crescent, with a pellet in the fork between the crescents. The cross bandlet is at right angles to and divides a wreath of large rectangular leaves running in opposite directions from the centre of the coin. On each side of the other non-bifurcated end of the cross bar are locks of hair. The obverse of No. 25 shows only a very small portion of the back hair, but the two solid crescents have the V-shaped figures in the concavities well marked, as well as the third solid crescent turned in the opposite direction and joining them. There is no room on the field of the other five obverses for this third crescent to be shown. All six obverses are evidently from the same die, a noticeable similarity being a slightly swollen portion of the stem of the cross bandlet near the bifurcated end.

Reverses (concave). Those of Nos. 20 and 21 are from the same die, the only difference being that more of the horse's head and fore portion is present on No. 21, and more of the tail and hind portion on No. 20. The five crescents of the trunk are very distinct, and just touch one another; and on No. 20 the vertical line on the back crescent has a tailed pellet on each side, whereas on No. 21 less of the vertical line is visible, and the two pellets are off the coin. Below the horse is a four-rayed star with large central pellet. On No. 20 there is a pellet under the tail. The reverse of No. 22 has the chest and abdomen crescents at a distance from the other three crescents, which are joined. Both fore-legs are attached to the chest and abdomen crescents respectively as straight lines ending each in a pellet, instead of the one being attached to the abdomen crescent by a curved line, and the other being at a distance from the chest crescent. Below the horse is a four-rayed star with small central

pellet. Beneath the tail is a pellet, and the straight line joined on T-wise to the back crescent has the usual large pellet on each side.

The reverse of No. 23 is very similar to those of Nos. 20 and 21, and has two pellets with portions of two others below the horse's mouth.

The reverse of No. 24 is also like those of Nos. 20, 21, and 22, except that, instead of a four-rayed star, there is a portion of an eight-rayed star below the horse.

The reverse of No. 25 only exhibits the fore-legs and a small portion of one hind-leg of the horse, beneath whose mouth is a large globule surrounded by eight pellets; beneath the horse is an eight-rayed star with large central pellet. Although these six coins are all from the same obverse die, and two have also the same reverses, their weights are the same only in Nos. 21, 23, and 24 (83·5 grs.). Weights, 85·6, 83·5, 83·7, 83·5, 83·5, and 86·7 grs. respectively.

No. 26. *Obverse* (convex) is very similar to the obverses of Nos. 20, 21, &c., but is rather blurred.

Reverse (concave). The neck and chest crescents are much blended together, and the horse's head is nearly off the coin. There are three or four pellets below the tail, and a four-rayed star with large central pellet below the abdomen crescent. Weight, 83·6 grs.

No. 27. *Obverse* (convex) is again very similar to those of Nos. 20, 21, &c., except that, instead of a pellet in the bifurcation at the face end of the cross bandlet, there is a pellet outside each of the twin crescents.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents of the horse's trunk are all much blended together; the straight line, joined on T-wise to the back crescent, divides above into

two branches, from each of which hangs a large pear-shaped pellet. Beneath the horse is an eight-rayed star with large, flat, central globule. There is a pellet beneath the tail, and several pellets, &c., below the mouth. This is a new variety. Weight, 84.8 grs.

Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32 are also interesting in having all the *obverses* (convex) from the same die (Nos. 54 and 55 are also from the same obverse die). The locks of back hair are triangular in shape, with the bases directed towards the leaves of the wreath, which are blurred and irregular, and more or less blended together; the leaves of the wreath all diverge upwards and outwards, so that the cross bandlet should be towards the lower margin of the coin, which is the case on Nos. 29 and 30, where only a small portion of it can be distinguished. It is quite off the coin on Nos. 28, 31, and 32. On the opposite (face) side of the wreath is a peculiar shaped object, which is best described as a reversed note of interrogation enclosing a pellet, thus φ , which is well seen on No. 32, partially on No. 29, and only faint traces of it on the others.

The *reverses* (concave) of Nos. 30, 31, and 32 are also from the same die, and those of Nos. 28 and 29 are badly struck. The neck and chest crescents are much joined, whereas the back, abdomen, and loins crescents barely touch one another. Where there is room on the coin, a globule surrounded by pellets is seen below the horse's head, best shown on Nos. 30 and 31; below the horse is an eight-rayed star with large central pellet, and, where there is room, there is a pellet beneath the tail. There are the usual large pellets on each side of the vertical line on the back crescent. This series of five is remarkable in that three have both sides from

the same dies, and yet the *weights* are all different, viz. 85·3, 87, 85·7, 86·8, and 86·3 grs. respectively.

No. 33. *Obverse* (convex) is interesting in giving very distinctly more details of the termination of the bifid extremity of the cross bandlet, above and below which the large rectangular leaves of the wreath diverge in opposite directions. The two solid crescents at the bifurcated end are joined by a single solid crescent nearly as large, turned in the opposite direction, with a large globule on each side. Between the three crescents is a pellet in the fork of the cross bandlet, as on Nos. 20, 21, &c. Beyond the crescents, and close to the margin of the coin, is a straight line or groove.

Reverse (concave). The neck and chest crescents are joined; the abdomen crescent is quite isolated; and the back and loins crescents just touch. The head and fore-legs of the horse are off the coin, and the hind-legs are faintly marked; a portion of an eight-rayed star with large central pellet is below. Weight, 87·7 grs.

No. 34. *Obverse* (convex) gives much more of the die above the cross bandlet, of which only one bifurcation is visible with its attached crescent and with the V-shaped object in its concavity. The rectangular leaves of the wreath are all directed upwards and outwards; on the side opposite to the locks of back hair is a fine representation of the peculiar reversed note of interrogation enclosing a pellet, already described on No. 32. A large pellet separates it from the solid crescent; further to the right, and close to the margin of the coin, is a straight line or groove.

Reverse (concave) is somewhat badly struck, and the neck, chest, and abdomen crescents are much joined together. Weight, 85·2 grs.

No. 35. *Obverse* (convex) shows the cross bandlet near the upper edge of the coin, with a portion of the bifurcated end with only one crescent attached (the opposite one to that on the obverse of No. 34, where the cross bandlet is near the lower edge of the coin). The rectangular leaves of the wreath are directed downwards and outwards, and the curious note of interrogation figure can just be distinguished below the crescent (same obverse die as those of Nos. 38, 45, and 53).

Reverse (concave) has all the five crescents of the horse's trunk joined, and below is a portion of a six-rayed star. There is also a portion of a globule surrounded by pellets below the mouth. Weight, 86.2 grs.

No. 36. *Obverse* (convex) is very blurred, although the rectangular leaves of the wreath, all running in the same direction, can be easily distinguished.

Reverse (concave) is very similar to that of Nos. 23 and 24, but the hind-legs of the horse are off the field. Weight, 86 grs.

No. 37. *Obverse* (convex) has been struck from the same die as those of Nos. 15 and 17, but more of the locks of back hair are shown, which are very distinct, each ending in three spikes or fingers.

Reverse (concave). The neck, chest, and abdomen crescents are joined together, and both fore-legs are united to the horse's trunk; below is an eight-rayed star with large central globule. Weight, 85.8 grs.

No. 38. *Obverse* (convex) has the cross bandlet close to the upper margin of the coin, and only one arm of its bifurcation ends in a solid crescent; below is the peculiar note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet. All the rectangular leaves of the wreath, being below

the cross bandlet, diverge downwards and outwards. It is from the same die as those of Nos. 35, 45, and 53.

Reverse (concave). The horse's head is nearly off the coin, and the loins crescent is much blurred. Below is an eight-rayed star with large central globule. Weight, 86·8 grs.

No. 39. *Obverse* (convex). The cross bandlet is off the coin, but one much blurred solid crescent can be distinguished. All the rectangular leaves of the wreath diverge downwards and outwards; the three locks of back hair are represented by elongated leaves (the same obverse die as that of No. 41).

Reverse (concave). It would be difficult to recognize a horse's head and fore-legs without the help of the other coins (No. 41 has same reverse). All the crescents of the horse's trunk are joined, and only a very small portion of the loins crescent is on the coin close to the margin. A portion of a globule surrounded by pellets is discernible below the mouth. An eight-rayed star with large central globule is below the horse. Weight, 87·3 grs.

No. 40. *Obverse* (convex) is from the same die as the obverses of Nos. 20, 21, &c.

Reverse (concave). The crescents of the horse's trunk are much blurred and blended together, the neck crescent being attached to the middle of the concavity of the abdomen crescent. Only the fore-legs are in the field. Below is a six-rayed star with large central pellet. Weight, 85 grs.

No. 41. *Obverse* (convex). The crescents of the bifurcated end of the cross bandlet are much blurred, and the rectangular leaves of the wreath diverge in opposite directions, as they are above or below the cross bandlet;

the locks of back hair are represented by plain leaves (from the same die as the obverse of No. 39).

Reverse (concave) is from the same die as that of No. 39, but much better struck; the crescents of the horse's trunk are all joined, and the head is off the coin. A detached pellet alone represents the fore-legs; the hind-legs are well marked, and there is a pellet beneath the tail. A very perfect eight-rayed star with large central globule is below the horse. Weight, 86.3 grs.

No. 42. *Obverse* (convex). Only a short portion of the cross bandlet, with its bifurcation ending in one solid crescent, is present near the lower margin of the coin; the crescent has a large pellet at the tip of one of its horns, and beyond and above this is the peculiar note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet. In the bifurcation of the cross bandlet is a small pellet, as on Nos. 20, 21, &c.

Reverse (concave). The crescents of the horse are much blended together, except the back crescent, which is separate, with a small pellet in its concavity; the hind-legs have very large pellets to represent the hocks. An eight-rayed star with large central globule is below the horse, whose head is off the coin. Weight, 88 grs. This is the heaviest coin in the hoard.

No. 43. *Obverse* (convex). The cross bandlet is just visible close to the upper margin of the coin, with one bifurcation joining a solid crescent; below the latter is the peculiar note of interrogation figure, which has the central pellet attached to the extremity of its curled portion. The rectangular leaves of the wreath diverge downwards and outwards. The locks of back hair are well indicated.

Reverse (concave). The whole impression is much blurred, and the five crescents are all joined together, with the head of the horse off the coin; an eight-rayed star with large central pellet below. Weight, 85.9 grs.

No. 44. *Obverse* (convex) is very similar to that of No. 27, but from another die.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents of the horse's trunk barely touch one another; a portion of a six-rayed star is below the horse; the straight line attached T-wise to the back crescent has *two* pellets instead of one large one on each side; the fore-legs are off the coin. Weight, 85.5 grs.

No. 45. *Obverse* (convex) is from the same die as those of Nos. 35, 38, and 53, but rather less of the cross bandlet is seen. Below the note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet, is a portion of a figure with parallel lines, more of which is seen in the obverse of No. 53.

Reverse (concave). The horse is similar to that on the reverses of Nos. 35 and 38, but apparently from another die. The line extending from the back crescent is on the slant, and appears to divide into two branches, each of which ends in a pear-shaped pellet, as on No. 27. Weight, 86.1 grs.

No. 46. *Obverse* (convex). The face end of the cross bandlet is as usual bifid, with a pellet in the fork, but the branches do not extend to the solid crescents. The rectangular leaves of the wreath are smaller than usual, and diverge in opposite directions on either side of the cross bandlet; the locks of back hair are rather faintly indicated.

Reverse (concave). All the crescents of the horse's trunk are joined together, except the back crescent,

from which a short line extends nearly at right angles; the upper extremity of this line is enlarged, from which depends on each side a pellet attached by a rod at an angle of 45° , something like the regulator or governor of an old-fashioned steam-engine. Below the horse is a six-rayed star with large central pellet. Both obverse and reverse types are new varieties. Weight, 86 grs.

No. 47. Obverse (convex). Only a short piece of the cross bandlet is visible near the left side of the coin, with one rectangular leaf of the wreath above and below it. The bifurcated ends of the cross bandlet are attached to two solid crescents, with the usual third solid crescent joining them more to the right. The whole field of the coin is marked by a ridge which separates the parts already described, which are on a higher level. On the right or lower level of the field is a very peculiar object, formed of two thin semicircles, each enclosing a pellet, and joined together by a thicker line, parallel to the above-mentioned ridge, something like a pair of spectacles. This obverse is unique among the coins of the Brigantes, though closely associated with Evans, Pl. K, Nos. 6, 7, and 8.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents are all joined together. From the back crescent runs a fine line obliquely to the left to two rude arms joined together above and terminating below in two large pellets, one of which touches the back crescent, similar to the object on the reverse of Evans, Pl. C, 1, which Sir John Evans describes as the degenerate arms of Victory, but which are more like the steam-engine governor described on the reverse of No. 46. On each side of the arms of Victory is a pellet. Weight, 87 grs.

No. 48. Obverse (convex) is very like the obverse of

No. 27, except that the locks of back hair are longer and better marked.

Reverse (concave). The crescents of the horse's trunk are much merged together, and the fore-legs and head are off the coin. On the back crescent is the peculiar steam-engine governor or arms of Victory, as on Nos. 46 and 47, but with a small pellet under the arms, on each side of the upright rod. There is also a pellet above the tail, and another pellet below it. This is a new variety. Weight, 85·4 grs.

Nos. 49 and 50 have both obverses and reverses from the same dies. (No. 58 has the same obverse.)

Obverses (convex) are somewhat like that of No. 43, although the cross bandlet can scarcely be distinguished on No. 49, and the peculiar note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet is turned in the opposite direction.

Reverses (concave). The chest crescent only is separate, and the other crescents which are well defined just touch one another, and are so placed that the back crescent is exactly above the abdomen crescent, with the concavities facing each other; the neck and loins crescents are also placed at the same angle, so that these four crescents constitute a symmetrical figure. The straight line perpendicular to the back crescent terminates in a pellet, from which depends on each side a curved line, with convexity *downwards*, each of which ends in a pellet. This arrangement, with a large pellet on each side of the vertical line, between the symmetrical figure of the horse below and the transverse curved lines above, gives an impression of a full face with large eyes and widely open mouth, the latter formed by the neck, abdomen, loins, and back crescents. Beneath the tail is a large pellet, and below the horse, traces of a rayed

star can be distinguished. Both reverses are in perfect mint condition, and are unique. Weights, 85.4 grs. and 84.8 grs. respectively.

No. 51. *Obverse* (convex) very similar to that of No. 48.

Reverse (concave). Only the neck and chest crescents of the horse are joined. A short line attached at right angles to the back crescent ends in a large pellet, and there is an equally large pellet on each side. A smaller pellet is beneath the long rat-like tail. The horse's head and most of the fore-legs are off the coin, and below is an eight-rayed star with large central pellet. This is a new variety of reverse. Weight, 86 grs.

No. 52. *Obverse* (convex) is much blurred.

Reverse (concave). The abdomen crescent is the only unattached one. Both fore-legs commence as pellets in front of the chest crescent, but neither is attached to it. A six-rayed star is below the horse. Weight, 84.8 grs.

No. 53. *Obverse* (convex) is somewhat blurred, and is from the same die as the obverses of Nos. 35, 38, and 45; but only the lower branch of the cross bandlet with the attached solid crescent can be distinguished close to the upper margin of the coin. Below the curious note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet is a figure of four parallel lines joined together at the top. The rectangular leaves of the wreath, diverging downwards and outwards, fill up the rest of the field.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents of the horse's trunk are conjoined. Between the line placed T-wise on the back crescent and the horse's head is half a pellet with a tail directed upwards. A portion of a rayed star is below the horse. Weight, 86.5 grs.

No. 54. *Obverse* (convex) is from the same obverse die as Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32; but considerably more of the

cross bandlet with its bifurcated end and attached solid crescents is seen. There is a pellet in the bifurcation, and a small third solid crescent joins the other two; the locks of back hair are scarcely to be made out; the rectangular leaves of the wreath are much blurred, and diverge upwards and outwards. There is a ridge or line close to the right margin of the coin, with some indistinct object, most probably a portion of one of the thin semi-circles enclosing a pellet seen on No. 47.

Reverse (concave) is very similar to those of Nos. 28, &c., but from another die. Weight, 85.9 grs.

No. 55. *Obverse* (convex) is in almost perfect condition, and is apparently from the same obverse die as those of Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32, the connecting link being No. 54. The cross bandlet is close to the upper margin of the coin, instead of being near the lower margin, as on No. 54; its bifurcated end encloses a pellet, but only the solid crescent attached to its lower branch is on the coin; within the cavity of the solid crescent is a V-shaped figure. A pellet separates the solid crescent from a very perfect representation of the reversed note of interrogation figure enclosing a pellet; more to the right, near the margin of the coin, is a straight line or ridge separating the larger portion of the field from a much smaller area on a lower level, which has a portion of a curved line on it close to the edge of the coin. The rectangular leaves of the wreath are very distinct, and diverge downwards and outwards, and are only seen below the cross bandlet. There is no room on the coin for the locks of back hair.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents nearly all touch one another, but the horse's head is off the coin; below is an irregular eight-rayed star with large central pellet.

This reverse is far less fine than the obverse. Weight, 85.2 grs.

Nos. 56 and 57 are from the same dies, both obverses and reverses.

Obverses (convex) are from the same dies as Nos. 20, &c., but that of No. 57 has the bifurcated end of the cross bandlet off the field of the coin, which is divided into two nearly equal halves by a long straight plain line with the locks of back hair, which have longer and thicker roots than usual, above and below it. These locks of back hair almost resemble three-fingered hands.

Reverses (concave). The five crescents of the horse are all joined, the neck crescent being attached to the middle of the concavity of the abdomen crescent. On No. 57 the horse's head is further from the margin of the coin, and half a ring ornament fills up the space. The reverse of No. 56 is fairly good, and shows a portion of a six-rayed star below the horse; that of No. 57 is much blurred. It is interesting to note that both coins weigh exactly the same, viz. 84.8 grs.

No. 58. *Obverse* (convex) is from the same die as that of Nos. 49 and 50, with the cross bandlet just indicated on the very margin of the coin, with one-half of the lower solid crescent visible. The locks of back hair, each with three spikes, are very distinct.

Reverse (concave). The five crescents are nearly all separate, but the head is nearly off the coin; an extra large six-rayed star is below the horse; under the tail is a pellet. A fine impression. Weight, 85.1 grs.

No. 59. *Obverse* (convex) is very similar to that of No. 33, but from another die.

Reverse (concave) resembles closely that of No. 46 with the steam-regulator arrangement of the line on the back

crescent. There is a pellet above and below the tail. Weight, 85·6 grs.

No. 60. *Obverse* (convex) is very similar to that of No. 55, but the cross bandlet and adjacent solid crescent are much blurred.

Reverse (concave) has three large pellets between the horse's head and the line placed T-wise on the back crescent, and there are apparently three corresponding pellets on the other side of the same line. Weight, 86 grs.

No. 61. *Obverse* (convex) is very like that of No. 33, but with more of the non-bifurcated end of the cross bandlet, and with traces of the locks of back hair: there is, however, no space for the straight line or groove near the margin.

Reverse (concave). The abdomen crescent is free; the others are joined together. There is a curved line in front of the horse's head, and a portion of a six-rayed star below the animal. The fore-legs are absent. Weight, 86·2 grs.

No. 62. *Obverse* (convex) is much blurred, but resembles that of No. 61.

Reverse (concave). All the crescents are crowded and merged together, except the abdomen one, which is broader than usual. The line attached to the back crescent is very fine, and curls to the left, enclosing a pellet very like the same device on the reverse of No. 4. Weight, 82·6 grs.

No. 63. *Obverse* (convex) is very badly struck, and only the commencement of the wreath of rectangular leaves and one solid crescent can be distinguished.

Reverse (concave) is different from all the other reverses in this hoard. The horse's trunk is represented by only four crescents, the back crescent being replaced by a

pellet; above the horse is a rectangular compartment enclosing a line of four pellets; the horse's head has the usual triangular-shaped mouth with the apex at the pellet representing the eye, from which also spring two thin diverging lines representing the ears. Compare with Evans, Pl. xxiii. 14, which has a similar compartment on the reverse. Weight, 83.9 grs.

No. 64. *Obverse* (convex) is different from all the other obverses. The wreath is composed of much smaller rectangular leaves, of which there are five pairs above and three pairs below the cross bandlet, and they all diverge downwards and outwards instead of in opposite directions where divided by the cross bandlet. The spikes only of the locks of back hair are on the coin. The thinner than usual cross bandlet is attached by its bifurcated end to two solid crescents each with a V-shaped object in its concavity; between the two solid crescents and in the bifurcation is a triangle of three pellets; above the higher solid crescent is three-fourths of a circle enclosing three pellets. Beyond the crescents and this circle enclosing pellets, is a straight ridge separating the field of the coin from a lower surface which extends to the right edge of the coin, and is quite plain. This obverse is very fine.

Reverse (concave). The chest and abdomen crescents of the horse are much blurred and indistinct. Between the back and abdomen crescents is a pellet in the centre of the horse, somewhat like that on the reverse of No. 4. From the back crescent, which is joined to the lower end of the neck crescent, is a curved line which curls to the right and appears to join the tail at the edge of the coin. Between this curved line and the neck crescent are three pellets and a slightly curved line or slender crescent. The loin crescent is separate, and has the two hind-legs

attached to its right horn, from which the tail also springs. There are pellets and straggling curved lines below the horse, which may represent the fore-legs and rayed star confusedly mixed up together. This reverse is a new variety. Weight, 83·7 grs.

No. 65 is a contemporary forgery or trial piece, composed apparently of copper plated with gold, which has worn off at many points.

Obverse (convex) is from the identical die as the obverses of Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 40, 56, and 57.

Reverse (concave) has a horse very similar to that on the reverse of No. 30, but from another die. Weight, 72·3 grs.

The *Silver* coins are 45 in number, and their types are very different from those of the gold ones just described: they have most affinity with those attributed by Sir John Evans to the Iceni. Up to the present only 23 silver coins have been attributed to the Brigantes, viz. 5 described by Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum, in a paper entitled "*Cartismandua*," which is published in the *Num. Chron.*, 1897, 3rd Series, Vol. xvii. p. 293, &c.; and 18 described by the writer in the paper already quoted. As the silver coins were much encrusted with verdigris, I cleaned them by the simple process given in Dr. Rathgen's book, *The Preservation of Antiquities*, translated by the Drs. Auden, viz. by placing them in contact with iron nails in ordinary lemon juice, when electrolytic action occurs, and the copper is deposited on the iron, leaving the silver clean. It is to be regretted that none of these additional Brigantes' silver coins are inscribed; 11 of them have the obverses (convex) perfectly plain, while 2 or 3 others are doubtfully so.

pellet; above the horse is a rectangular compartment enclosing a line of four pellets; the horse's head has the usual triangular-shaped mouth with the apex at the pellet representing the eye, from which also spring two thin diverging lines representing the ears. Compare with Evans, Pl. xxiii. 14, which has a similar compartment on the reverse. Weight, 83·9 grs.

No. 64. *Obverse* (convex) is different from all the other obverses. The wreath is composed of much smaller rectangular leaves, of which there are five pairs above and three pairs below the cross bandlet, and they all diverge downwards and outwards instead of in opposite directions where divided by the cross bandlet. The spikes only of the locks of back hair are on the coin. The thinner than usual cross bandlet is attached by its bifurcated end to two solid crescents each with a V-shaped object in its concavity; between the two solid crescents and in the bifurcation is a triangle of three pellets; above the higher solid crescent is three-fourths of a circle enclosing three pellets. Beyond the crescents and this circle enclosing pellets, is a straight ridge separating the field of the coin from a lower surface which extends to the right edge of the coin, and is quite plain. This obverse is very fine.

Reverse (concave). The chest and abdomen crescents of the horse are much blurred and indistinct. Between the back and abdomen crescents is a pellet in the centre of the horse, somewhat like that on the reverse of No. 4. From the back crescent, which is joined to the lower end of the neck crescent, is a curved line which curls to the right and appears to join the tail at the edge of the coin. Between this curved line and the neck crescent are three pellets and a slightly curved line or slender crescent. The loin crescent is separate, and has the two hind-legs

attached to its right horn, from which the tail also springs. There are pellets and straggling curved lines below the horse, which may represent the fore-legs and rayed star confusedly mixed up together. This reverse is a new variety. Weight, 83·7 grs.

No. 65 is a contemporary forgery or trial piece, composed apparently of copper plated with gold, which has worn off at many points.

Obverse (convex) is from the identical die as the obverses of Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 40, 56, and 57.

Reverse (concave) has a horse very similar to that on the reverse of No. 30, but from another die. Weight, 72·3 grs.

The *Silver* coins are 45 in number, and their types are very different from those of the gold ones just described: they have most affinity with those attributed by Sir John Evans to the Iceni. Up to the present only 23 silver coins have been attributed to the Brigantes, viz. 5 described by Mr. G. F. Hill of the British Museum, in a paper entitled "Cartismandua," which is published in the *Num. Chron.*, 1897, 3rd Series, Vol. xvii. p. 293, &c.; and 18 described by the writer in the paper already quoted. As the silver coins were much encrusted with verdigris, I cleaned them by the simple process given in Dr. Rathgen's book, *The Preservation of Antiquities*, translated by the Drs. Auden, viz. by placing them in contact with iron nails in ordinary lemon juice, when electrolytic action occurs, and the copper is deposited on the iron, leaving the silver clean. It is to be regretted that none of these additional Brigantes' silver coins are inscribed; 11 of them have the obverses (convex) perfectly plain, while 2 or 3 others are doubtfully so.

The large majority of the *obverses* (convex) have a boar moving to the right more or less distinctly shown. The figure of the boar varies considerably in the few specimens where there is a good impression, but in every case we find the peculiar arrangement of the fore-legs described by Sir John Evans as follows: one of its fore-legs is connected to its snout, and is joined to the other below, so as to form a triangle with the head, as in Evans, Pl. xvi. 10 and 11.

The *reverses* (concave) have a horse moving to the right on all the large specimens, and either to the right or left on the remaining, *i.e.* small coins. The horse's trunk and head are far better modelled than on the gold coins, but the fore-legs are invariably bifid above the knees, and in most specimens it is possible to distinguish what I have described in my previous paper already quoted, the two horse-collars' arrangement, viz. one at the root of the neck in the usual position, and the other round the commencement of the trunk just behind where the fore-legs are attached. The tail is generally thin and rat-like, and above the horse is usually a rosette of pellets or a beaded ring ornament. As there is much more variety in the reverses (concave), I have been able to put them into three classes.

CLASS I. The horse has a well-shaped head and neck, with distinct mane: 6 specimens.

CLASS II. The horse has a somewhat similar head, but not so well modelled, and there is no mane: 30 specimens.

CLASS III. The horse has a very peculiar-shaped head formed by two wiry V's joined at their apices by a large pellet; the diverging arms of the lower V each end in a smaller pellet to form the open mouth, while the

curved arms of the upper \vee represent the ears. The obverses of all these are perfectly plain : 8 specimens.

CLASS I. *The horse has a well-shaped head and neck, with distinct mane.*

No. 1. *Obverse* (convex). A well-drawn figure of a smooth-backed boar moving to the right. The snout is partially off the edge of the coin; its tusk is represented by a curved line with concavity forwards, *i.e.* to the right, terminating in a cluster of three pellets; above the animal is a large beaded ring; below, is a small ring ornament.

Reverse (concave). A well-modelled horse moving to the right, with the mane faintly indicated by a series of small ovals; above the horse is a portion of a beaded ring, and below a triangle of pellets; there is also a pellet below the tail. Weight, 16·4 grs.

No. 2. *Obverse* (convex) similar to that of No. 1, but much less distinct.

Reverse (concave) similar to that of No. 1, but with a small ring ornament instead of a triangle of pellets below the horse. Weight, 17·5 grs.

No. 3. *Obverse* (convex). Very faint indications of the boar moving to the right.

Reverse (concave). A very spirited representation of a horse with handsome mane composed of oval pellets; above, is half a ring ornament and a tailed pellet (? portion of a letter). Weight, 19·2 grs.

Nos. 4, 5, and 6 were evidently meant to pass current as halves of the three large coins just described.

Obverses (convex). Faint traces of (?) the boar.

Reverses (concave). A horse with mane moving to the *left* and not to the right, as on the large coins. On No. 4 the eye is represented by a large pellet, and above is a beaded

ring ornament and half a small ring; the horse's mane consists of a line twisted on itself.

Weights, 8·8 grs., 7·8 grs., and 8·4 grs. respectively.

CLASS II. *The horse has not such a well-shaped head as in the first class, and there is no mane.*

No. 7. *Obverse* (convex). The boar, with erect mane, is moving to the right. One of its fore-legs is connected to its snout, and is joined to the other below so as to form a triangle with the head. This is very similar to the obverses of Evans, Pl. xvi. 10 and 11, differing, however, in having a long tail, beneath which is a pellet. The animal is standing on an exergual line composed of vertical rods, each terminating in a pellet, and differing from the arrangement of a somewhat similar exergual line in Evans, Pl. xvi. 13, in that each hind-foot of the animal corresponds with one of the pellets of the palisade of rods. This is a new variety.

Reverse (concave). The horse is moving to the right, with the fore-legs bifurcated to the knees, which are indicated each by a pellet. The head is more clumsily represented than on the previous coins, and is composed of one large pellet with two short and thick diverging rods below, representing the mouth, and with two rather thick ones above for the ears. Weight, 19·8 grs.

No. 8. *Obverse* (convex). Very similar boar to that on No. 7, but much larger, with a portion of a beaded ring above. The feet and tail are off the coin; the bristles on the ridge of the back are very distinct.

Reverse is similar to that of No. 7, but the head is partly off the coin. Weight, 18·1 grs.

Nos. 9 to 36 inclusive are all very similar to No. 8. On most of the *obverses* (convex) the large boar-like animal can be more or less plainly made out; on a few, as Nos.

28, 29, 30, &c., it is all but obliterated. No. 21 has an extra large boar covering the whole field of the coin; the bristles on the back ridge are very plainly shown. On the *reverses* (concave), when there is room on the coin, the horse has a plain tail with one pellet beneath it, as on Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 20, 22, 23, 24, and 36; there are three pellets beneath the tail on Nos. 30, 31, and 32; it is doubtful whether only two pellets are there on No. 29. The beaded ring ornament above the horse is very well seen on Nos. 29 and 31. On No. 24 there is an almost perfect beaded ring, but without any central pellet. No. 33 is the only reverse with a triangle of pellets below the horse. It is interesting to note that the reverses of Nos. 17, 26, and 27 are all three from the same die. Weights—

No. 9 = 16·8 grains.

„ 10 = 18·0	„
„ 11 = 17·8	„
„ 12 = 18·0	„
„ 13 = 19·0	„
„ 14 = 16·6	„
„ 15 = 19·0	„
„ 16 = 18·1	„
„ 17 = 18·4	„
„ 18 = 18·2	„
„ 19 = 17·5	„
„ 20 = 18·6	„
„ 21 = 16·4	„
„ 22 = 19·0	„

No. 23 = 17·3 grains.

„ 24 = 13·7	„
„ 25 = 18·3	„
„ 26 = 17·1	„
„ 27 = 17·4	„
„ 28 = 16·7	„
„ 29 = 18·0	„
„ 30 = 18·7	„
„ 31 = 16·6	„
„ 32 = 19·6	„
„ 33 = 19·4	„
„ 34 = 18·0	„
„ 35 = 18·8	„
„ 36 = 20·1	„

CLASS III. *The horse has a very peculiar shaped head formed by two wiry V's joined at their apices by a large pellet. The obverses are all plain.*

Nos. 37, 38, 39, 40, and 41. *Obverses* (convex) are

plain, although Nos. 39 and 41 have rather irregular surfaces.

Reverses (concave) show a horse moving to the right. The head is very characteristic, and quite different from that on the coins of Classes I. and II. The head is formed by two wiry V's joined at their apices by a large pellet; the diverging arms of the V are straight, and each ends in as large a pellet as the one representing the eye, especially well seen on Nos. 37 and 41: these form the open mouth. The arms of the upper V are slightly concave forwards, *i.e.* to the right, and constitute the ears. The two horse-collars are very well seen in the majority. Instead of the beaded ring ornament above the horse, we have on Nos. 37 and 38 a rosette of ten pellets; on No. 39 a rosette of seven pellets; on No. 40 a rosette of eight pellets; and on No. 41 a ring of numerous small pellets which are not joined together, with a pellet in the centre. There is a pellet under the rat-like tail in every specimen. Nos. 37 and 38 appear to be from the same reverse die. Weights, 18.8 grs., 18.6 grs., 13.7 grs., 19.8 grs., and 18.6 grs. respectively.

No. 42 is of the same type as those just described, and, although a very perfect specimen, it weighs about one-half, and was no doubt intended to pass current for one-half the value of the larger coins.

Obverse (convex) plain.

Reverse (concave). The head of the horse moving to the right is partially off the coin, but enough remains to identify it with this series. The two horse-collars are very evident. Above the animal is a rosette of eight pellets, and there is a triangle of three pellets beneath the tail.

No. 43 is very similar to No. 42, and, although not

very imperfect, it only weighs 3·7 grs.—almost exactly one-half. It was probably current as one quarter of the large coins.

No. 44 is very like No. 42, except that on the reverse (concave) the horse is moving in the contrary direction, viz. towards the left, and there is only one pellet beneath the tail. Weight, 7·9 grs.

No. 45. I have placed this coin last, because it did not fit in with any of the three classes.

Obverse (convex). There are faint traces of a figure which may be a boar.

Reverse (concave). The horse is moving to the left, and has a pellet or lump attached to the back; the head is unfortunately too indistinct to be made out. The bifurcated fore-legs stop short at the pellets forming the knees, and the lower halves of the hind-legs are composed of two dumb-bell-shaped figures. There is a portion of a ring of pellets above the horse, and there is a pellet under the tail, which is bifid. Weight, 7·1 grs.

No contemporary Roman coins were found with this hoard, so it is impossible to give any precise date of their deposit. Sir John Evans says, "It seems probable that the coinage of the Brigantes had ceased before 50 A.D., in which year Ostorius put down an insurrection among them." All the gold coins are in such perfect mint condition, and so many of them are from the same dies, that it appears very probable that we have here part of the treasury of a Regulus, which had been just delivered by the mint-master, when they were placed in some receptacle during a period of danger, possibly at the time of the insurrection just referred to, and there they remained till exposed by the action of the sea in the year 1906.

The following table gives the list of gold coins with the same obverses and reverses :—

Nos. 12, 13, 14 have same obverses and reverses.

Nos. 15, 17, 37 have same obverses.

Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 40, 56, 57, 65 have same obverses.

Nos. 20, 21 have same obverses and reverses.

Nos. 56, 57 have same obverses and reverses.

Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 54, 55 have same obverses.

Nos. 30, 31, 32 have same obverses and reverses.

Nos. 35, 38, 45, 53 have same obverses.

Nos. 39, 41 have same obverses and reverses.

Nos. 49, 50, 58 have same obverses.

Nos. 49, 50 have same obverses and reverses.

The contemporary forgery of apparently copper plated with gold (No. 65), is from the same obverse die as nine of the pure gold coins (Nos. 20, 21, &c.). It is remarkable that one of the seven gold coins from South Ferriby, described as No. 5 in my previous paper already mentioned, is from the same obverse and reverse dies as the genuine gold coin No. 40. That coin weighs 72·5 grs. only, and on closer inspection, instead of describing it as I did in that paper as of rather base gold, I have come to the conclusion now that it is also a contemporary forgery of copper plated with gold. This is corroborated by its weight being only $\frac{2}{10}$ gr. more than that of No. 65, which is undoubtedly counterfeit. We have, therefore, two contemporary forgeries, or trial-pieces, which were evidently coined by the same workman who produced the genuine specimens. If these two coins were still in the hands of the mint-master, they would have to be considered as forgeries; but if they were in the treasury of the Regulus, they may possibly

have been trial-pieces, and not made with any fraudulent intent when they were placed in their buried receptacle 1850 years ago. Sir John Evans says that "Of the uninscribed coins, ancient forgeries are rare, but I have met with one or two."

No previous hoard of ancient British gold coins has been described in which so many specimens have been struck from the same dies. It is possible to demonstrate, by taking a series with the same dies, that the obverse dies were almost twice the diameter in one direction, viz. from above down, of that of the individual coins. I have been able to make a diagram, drawn accurately to scale, of the obverse die of the series Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 54, and 55 (see Fig. B), where the peculiar note of interrogation figures enclosing a pellet, above and below the cross bandlet, are turned in opposite directions. The reverse die, tested in the same way, does not appear to have been much larger than the coins themselves, and therefore was much smaller than the obverse die.



FIG. B.

WEIGHTS OF THE GOLD COINS.

82.6 grains.	No. 62.	84.0 grains.	Nos. 8, 12.
83.1	" 9.	84.7	" 2, 16.
83.3	" 4.	84.8	" 27, 50, 52,
83.5	" 10, 21, 23,		56, 57.
	24.	85.0	" 6, 40.
83.6	" 7, 26.	85.1	" 58.
83.7	" 3, 15, 22,	85.2	" 14, 34, 55.
	64.	85.3	" 28.
83.9	" 11, 63.	85.4	" 5, 17, 48, 49.
			E 2

85.5 grains.	Nos. 18, 44.	86.3 grains.	Nos. 32, 41.
85.6	" " 20, 59.	86.5	" " 1, 63.
85.7	" " 30.	86.7	" " 25.
85.8	" " 37.	86.8	" " 31, 38.
85.9	" " 43, 54.	87.0	" " 19, 29, 47.
86.0	" " 36, 46, 51,	87.3	" " 39.
	60.	87.7	" " 13, 33.
86.1	" " 45.	88.0	" " 42.
86.2	" " 35, 61.	72.3	" " 65.

The gold coins vary in weight from 82.6 grs., the lightest (No. 62), to 88 grs., the heaviest (No. 42), as compared with the 72.3 grs. of the contemporary forgery (No. 65). Excluding this last one, the average weight of the whole series is 85.7 grs. Even where two or more coins are struck from the same dies, the weights usually vary considerably, with the exception of Nos. 56 and 57, which weigh exactly the same (84.8 grs.), and Nos. 21, 23, and 24, which have been struck from the same obverse die (83.5 grs.).

Nos. 12, 13, and 14, which have been struck from the same obverse and reverse dies, are of different weights. Their obverses are almost plain, but are all three so exactly similar in their smoothness that it is reasonable to suppose that the obverse die was worn out when used, and not that the coins were the worse for circulation.

These coins exhibit many varying terminations and arrangements of the line attached T-wise to the back crescent of the horse. Thus on No. 3 it terminates in a segment of a curve with concavity upwards. On Nos. 4 and 5 it curves to the left, almost completing a circle and enclosing a pellet. On No. 16 it ends above in two small crescents, with convexity towards the horse. On Nos. 27 and 45 it divides above into two branches, from each of which hangs a large pear-shaped

pellet. On No. 44 it has two instead of one large pellet on each side. On No. 46 it has a pellet at its extremity, from which hangs on each side a pellet, attached by a rod at an angle of 45° , like the regulator of a steam-engine. On No. 47 we have the degenerate arms of Victory. On No. 48 there is the same arrangement as on No. 46, but with a small pellet under the arms, on each side of the upright rod. On Nos. 49 and 50 it terminates in a pellet, from which depends on each side a curved line with convexity downwards, each of which ends in a pellet. On No. 51 it ends in a large pellet, with an equally large pellet on each side. And, lastly, on No. 60 there are apparently three pellets on each side of the line placed γ -wise on the back crescent of the horse.

There was some hesitation in ascribing the gold coins represented in Evans, Pl. xvii. 9, 10, 11, and 12, and Pl. xxiii. 14, to the Brigantes, but there can be no longer any doubt that they were rightly so attributed, as they are so numerous reproduced in the staters of this hoard, although the latter are of far purer gold, and therefore belong to a much earlier period.

The silver coins of this find are less interesting than the gold coins, although the designs of the boar on the obverse, and of the horse on the reverse, are on a far higher artistic level. The figures of the boars on Nos. 1, 7, and 8 are fairly well executed, while the horse on No. 3 is really very spirited, and almost perfect so far as the head and neck are concerned.

For the sake of comparison, a table of the weights of the silver coins is here given.

WEIGHTS OF THE SILVER COINS.

3·7 grains.	No. 43.	17·8 grains.	No. 11.
7·1	" 45.	18·0	" 10, 12, 29,
7·7	" 42.		34.
7·8	" 5.	18·1	" 8, 16.
7·9	" 44	18·2	" 18.
8·4	" 6.	18·3	" 25.
8·8	" 4.	18·4	" 1, 17.
13·7	" 24, 39.	18·6	" 20, 38, 41.
16·4	" 21.	18·7	" 30.
16·6	" 14, 31.	18·8	" 35, 37.
16·7	" 28.	19·0	" 13, 15, 22.
16·8	" 9.	19·2	" 3.
17·1	" 26.	19·4	" 33.
17·3	" 23.	19·6	" 32.
17·4	" 27.	19·8	" 7, 40.
17·5	" 2, 19.	20·1	" 36.

Although the lightest coin only weighs 3·7 grs. (No. 43), and the heaviest 20·1 grs. (No. 36), they arrange themselves readily into three divisions. Thirty-eight coins, weighing from 13·7 to 20·1 grs., constitute the heaviest division, with an average weight of 17·69 grs. The six coins weighing 7·1 to 8·8 grs., with an average weight of 7·96 grs., form a lighter division, which evidently represent halves of the heavier coins; while No. 43, which only weighs 3·7 grs., is a complete specimen, and must have passed current as a quarter of one of the heaviest class. In my previous paper, already quoted, I referred to the curious fact that the silver coins were so much smaller and lighter than the gold coins found in the same locality, and I hazarded the explanation that silver was equal to, or even of greater value than gold amongst the ancient Britons of the Yorkshire district. The examination of this much larger hoard, in which the silver coins are

much more perfect, still further confirms me in this opinion. It also appears to indicate a far higher state of civilization than is usually ascribed to the Brigantes, which required a silver currency of an average weight of only 17·69 grs., with their halves of an average weight of 7·96 grs., and a quarter of 3·7 grs.

Finally, it is interesting to note that although no two obverses are alike, if we omit the plain ones; the reverses of Nos. 17, 26, and 27 are from the same die, and so are the reverses of Nos. 37 and 38. A far smaller proportional number of the silver coins have therefore dies in common as compared with the gold coins of this remarkable hoard.

BERNARD ROTH.

III.

AN UNPUBLISHED MEDALLION OF THE YOUNGER FAUSTINA.

(See Plate VII.)

THE cast medallion¹ figured on Pl. VII. 1 is a hybrid consisting of an obverse type of a medallion of Lucilla, with the legend adapted to the younger Faustina, and a reverse type taken from a familiar bronze coin of her mother, Faustina Senior [Pl. VII. 2].

Obv.—FAVSTINA AVGVSTA AVGVSTI FI[L]? Bust to l. in dotted circle. Hair, drapery, and legend tooled.

Rev.—MATRI DEVM SALVTARI. In exergue S C. Cybele enthroned to r. between two lions. Field, figure, and dots of circle tooled.

As will be seen, there is a marked stylistic difference between the original and the adaptation. The poor drapery and mean outlines of the figure of Cybele have given place to a full and dignified treatment which nevertheless is true to the lines of the original, save where that has been misunderstood. This accuracy of detail and difference of effect are probably attained, as Mr. G. F. Hill has suggested to me, by taking a cast of the coin, broadening and strengthening the outlines by cutting away the field, and tooling the figure and

¹ It is probably, as Mr. Grueber informs me, of seventeenth-century workmanship.

inscription thus left in high relief. It must have been in this final working up that the mistakes were made. In the original coin the over-dress is clearly distinguished from the robe underneath; it passes over the left shoulder, lies in folds on the lap, and ends below the knee above the closer folds of the inner dress. In the medallion these distinctions have been smoothed away, and the goddess appears to be clad in a single garment, the heavy fold on the lap—too large to be omitted—being left unexplained. The *suppedaneum*, the distinctive attribute of Cybele, has been mistaken for a prolongation of the right foot. Finally, the long locks of hair on the shoulder, whose number varies in different specimens of the coin, have been tooled away on the medallion. The falsification of the legend on the obverse, and the tooling of hair and drapery, have been already noticed.

It is not the obverse, however, that calls for remark, but the type and legend of the reverse. Before touching on these, it may be well to turn for a moment to the numismatic history of Cybele as seen on the Roman coinage. Common as the type is on the issues of the later Republic—it is found on no less than ten between 89 and 43 B.C.—the goddess is nevertheless entirely absent from the earlier coinage. It is true that before c. 92 B.C. many of the types of denarii were of a conventional character—the Dioscuri, Victory, or Diana in a biga, &c., and that from 92 onwards the types begin to assume a more personal and historic form; but, on the other hand, historical and mythological types do occur much earlier,² and there is room for

² I append a list of a few mythological and historical types earlier than 92 B.C.—

Pompeia, 129 B.C. Faustulus discovering the wolf and twins.

legitimate surprise at the absence of representations of Cybele before 83 B.C. on the issues of that state which had summoned her as to her own people in 204 B.C.; had founded a magnificent temple on the Palatine in her honour; and had celebrated annual games of no small interest to us, since at them no less than four of the extant plays of Terence were originally performed. Moreover, after 43 B.C., with the single exception of a rare denarius of Sabina, Cybele does not reappear until the period of the Antonines, when she is once more found as a frequent type. Nor is this reappearance surprising, though her previous absence is unaccountable enough. The reign of Marcus Aurelius, especially under the pressure of fear excited by the Marcomannic War, was marked by an outburst of Oriental worship under the auspices of the philosophic Emperor himself. We read (*Jul. Capitol. Vita*, 13) that "he summoned priests from every quarter, fulfilled a vast amount of foreign ritual, and purified Rome with ceremonial observances of every kind, even delaying his going to the front for that purpose." The numerous Cybele issues of the younger Faustina are distinctly suggestive in connection with this outbreak of orgiastic cults, though the inscription of our coin, which might be taken to point to a crisis, is only found

Minucia, 129 B.C. Augurs at the foot of an Ionic column, hung with bells and surmounted by a statue of a hero.

Servilia, 123 B.C. M. Servilius Pulex Geminus attacking an enemy.

Marcia, 112 B.C. Q. Philippus, the conqueror of Perseus. (*Obv.*—Head of Macedonian king.)

Aemilia, 112 B.C. Aqueduct surmounted by statue.

Porcia, 110 B.C. *Provoco*, a commemoration of the *Leges Porciae*.

Caesia, 104 B.C. The Lares.

It is singular that the Claudian family should never have taken Cybele as a type honourably connected with their house, though Claudia Quinta, the vestal who vindicated her honour by an appeal to Cybele, appears on a coin of 43 B.C.

on an issue of the *elder* Faustina, and so cannot be connected with the alarm caused by the Marcomannic War. Even in the absence of any historical clue to its meaning, this inscription is sufficiently remarkable. The word *salutaris* is very rare as a personal epithet. Applied to a god, it may mean either health-bringing or safety-bringing. If the former, it must here be referred to the plague which was desolating Italy at the time of the embassy sent, by command of the Sibylline Books, to fetch the sacred stone of Cybele from Pessinus. On the other hand, neither Livy nor Ovid connects the coming of the goddess with the cessation of the plague, only with the expulsion of the Carthaginians; hence the meaning "safety-bringing" would seem the more appropriate, though, with the single exception to be referred to later, this is the only instance of the occurrence of the epithet in connection with Cybele. The title must have belonged to the goddess of the Palatine, the saviour of the state, not to her of the minor shrines of Rome; and the second piece of evidence points to the same conclusion.

On a rare contorniate [see Pl. VII. 3], bearing on the obverse a head of Alexander, Agrippina, or (as in that on Pl. VII. 2) Faustina Senior, we find as reverse type, a statue of Cybele seated at the entrance of a temple approached by a flight of steps; without, stands a diminutive figure of Attis beside his sacred pine³; around, is the inscription

³ The tree, as M. Robert (*Rev. Num.*, 1885, p. 13, "Mythe de Cybèle et d'Atys") admits, "ne ressemble pas précisément à un pin;" but a knowledge of "trees" of the contorniate type will do away with any hesitation on the point. The contorniate tree is an upright object with horizontal projections and bulbous knobs, its species to be interpreted from the connection in which it is found (cf. the fig-tree of Charybdis, figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, Pl. xvii. No. 6).

MATRI DEVM SALVTARI. Not only is the inscription identical with that of the coin, but a comparison (so far as the difference of scale will permit) of the figures of Cybele will show that the type is the same. This is the more striking since the two coins of the Faustinas and the contorniate are the only representations of Cybele I have been able to trace, whether monumental or numismatic, of precisely the same type.⁴ Only those who have gone into the question of these types and have seen something of the infinite variety in detail of which the fixed type of the goddess and her lions is capable, can appreciate the importance of such a coincidence. It becomes still more interesting when we consider that all the known buildings represented on contorniates—the Colosseum, the Circus, the temples and triumphal arches—are either copied from earlier authentic coin-types or are direct representations of buildings actually existing in the Rome of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. It follows that the temple of Cybele on this contorniate was also one existing at the period when the contorniate was made, almost certainly that of greatest importance,⁵ the great temple of the *Magna Mater Idaea*, not that originally dedicated in 191 B.C., but that rebuilt by Augustus on the same site⁶ within the *Pomoerium*, in token that the goddess was no foreign deity, but the ancestral mother of the Romans in their

⁴ I.e. Pl. VII. 2, that from which our medallion is copied, and a denarius of the younger Faustina with the inscription MATRI MAGNAE (Coh.² iii. p. 150). The fairly close analogy on a late coin of Antioch in Pisidia (B.M.C., *Lycia*, &c., pl. xxxii. 1) differs in the greater height of the throne and the more archaic and hieratic pose of the figure.

⁵ Described in *Röm. Mitth.*, x. pp. 1 *seqq.*

⁶ *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 19, iv. 8, ed. Mommsen, 1886, "*aedem Matris Magnae in Palatio feci.*" Cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 348, "*Augustus nunc est, ante Metellus erat.*"

ancient home on Mount Ida, in the fulness of time restored to her own people.

This type of Cybele, as it appears on coins of the elder Faustina, was clearly one of importance; the inscription MATRI DEVM SALVTARI connects it with the contorniate, in which, as already pointed out, we may safely recognize the temple of Augustus on the Palatine; finally, we find from the same source that a statue of the goddess was erected outside the temple in whose cella was that most sacred of Roman objects of worship, the black stone from Pessinus.

The development of the important archaeological problems here lightly touched upon must be left to another place. Here I can only call attention to a fine unpublished medallion, to the coin from which it is copied, and to the contorniate whose connection with the coin leads to results which add something to our knowledge of one of the most interesting of Roman temples.

KATHARINE ESDAILE.

IV.

CROMWELL'S SILVER COINAGE.

(See Plates VIII., IX.)

AN air of mystery surrounded the production of the magnificent coinage engraved by Thomas Simon for Oliver Cromwell, while it was being struck by Pierre Blondeau, at his official quarters, Drury House, in Drury Lane; and mystery likewise enshrouds the making of a second series of coins bearing the Protector's bust and arms very similar in design to the first, but greatly inferior in execution. The second series is commonly known as "Tanner's coinage." The whole subject has been treated at length by Mr. Henfrey, in the valuable work entitled *Numismata Cromwelliana* (London, 1877), where the author expresses an opinion that the entire second series is the work of John Sigismund Tanner, a native of Saxe-Gotha, and one of the engravers to the Royal Mint in George II's reign. The basis of that opinion seems to be a statement contained in the Appendix to the second edition of George Vertue's *Works of Thomas Simon*, 1780—

"In the Tower are not only Simon's two dies of the true crown of Oliver Cromwell, but likewise the puncheons by which they were made. The dye of the obverse being much cracked, Mr. Arundel, master of the Mint, got Mr. Tanner, the engraver, to make two new dyes from Simon's puncheons,

in order that a few might be struck to give to his friends. These new dyes still remain; and in order to be more certain of the thing, I carried with me what is called the Dutch crown, which I found exactly fitted these dyes."

The coin which the narrator carried with him was obviously "Tanner's crown," and not the one which collectors now term the "Dutch crown."

On this foundation Mr. Henfrey has built his argument that Tanner was the creator of the *whole* of the second series, that he used Simon's punches in order to reproduce the busts on the obverse and the arms on the reverse of the new coins, and that he engraved the legends with his own hand.

He has described very lucidly, at p. 138, the mode by which Tanner may have produced imitations of Simon's money—

"It must here be understood that when Simon set to work to engrave his dies, he first cut the designs (*i.e.* the bust and the crowned shield of arms) in *relief* on pieces of steel called *punches*. These punches were hardened, and then impressed on soft steel to make the *sunken dies*. The lettering or inscriptions having been cut in these dies, they were hardened in their turn, and were then ready for striking the money. Therefore, since all Simon's punches remained in the Mint, Tanner probably impressed them on new pieces of steel, engraved the legends around the bust and arms, and thus made new dies, from which several proof coins were struck and sold to collectors."

But the intrinsic evidence furnished by the coins themselves does not altogether support Mr. Henfrey's argument.

When this paper was read, I ventured to propound a theory that the dies from which Tanner's coinage was

produced belonged, as they purport to have done, to the close of the Protectorate rather than to the reign of George II, though they might indeed have been utilised by Tanner at the latter period, for it seemed to me incredible that an eminent artist would content himself with producing, not replicas, but only colourable imitations of Simon's work, or would, in order to gratify the whim of a few collectors, create an entirely new type of Cromwell's money. However, in the short discussion which followed the reading of this paper, certain cogent evidence was adduced, which seemed fatal to my theory, at least so far as regards Tanner's crown.

To carry the argument further requires a more intimate knowledge of the technicalities of the coining of money than I myself possess, so I leave the question of the dies to be dealt with by others who are better acquainted with the subject. In order to arrive at the truth of the matter, it is essential to examine the coinages of Simon and Tanner in detail. I have therefore made a list, in which an original coin of each denomination is compared side by side with its corresponding derivative, in order to contrast their points of difference, and plates are furnished, showing some examples of both series preserved in the collection at the British Museum. I hope that the description which follows may be of some assistance in dispelling the cloud of doubt which surrounds the subject.

SIMON'S COINAGE OF 1656.

There is some reason for supposing that Simon engraved his design for a crown in this year, but I will defer my remarks on this subject until later on. So far

as positive evidence extends, Simon struck one silver coin only with the date 1656 impressed upon it, and that was a half-crown [Pl. IX. 1]. It represents the bust of the Protector in the dress of a Roman Emperor, and crowned with a wreath. No one will deny that Cromwell deserved the laurel crown for his military prowess, though it appears, at first sight, somewhat inconsistent with the Puritanical spirit of the time, and the Roman mantle recalls the lines—

“ Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium ;”¹

for the wind was surely driving the ship of state towards Latium, the cradle of Imperial rule. But when we turn the coin and examine its reverse, we are almost startled to observe that the shields, bearing emblems of England, Scotland, and Ireland (familiar objects on the Commonwealth currency), are collected into an heraldic coat, in the centre of which is an escutcheon emblazoned with Cromwell's personal arms, while the whole is surmounted by a royal crown. A similar coat, it is true, had already appeared upon the great seal of England, and upon the Privy seal, and had of course received the approval of the Council of State, but that Council must have been to Cromwell as clay to the potter's hand. Cromwell was king in all but name. Indeed, that title had been formally offered to him by the Parliament in March, 1657, but was prudently declined, and so on June 26 following he was for the second time installed Protector, and was thenceforth accorded a degree of state and dignity little short of royal. It is significant that

¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*, i. 204.

this was the period at which the half-crown dated 1656 was probably struck, as Mr. Henfrey endeavours to show from contemporary records (p. 97).

The personal arms of Cromwell were: Sable, a lion rampant argent; and it was the usual custom for an *elected* sovereign thus to place his hereditary coat, in an escutcheon *en surtout*, above those of his dominions (Woodward and Burnett's *Treatise on Heraldry*, 1892, p. 487).

We are fond of speaking of the "British lion," which has always loomed large on the shield of the sovereign; ² but it is remarkable that, on nearly every occasion when an addition has been made to the royal coat-of-arms, more lions have been imported into the design. Queen Mary impaled with the arms of England those of Spain, including the lion rampant of Leon. In the reign of James I the arms of Scotland (or, a lion rampant gules, within a double tressure fleurée counter fleurée gules) appear appropriately in the second grand quarter of the royal shield. Cromwell, as has been already mentioned, added his own hereditary device, a lion rampant, to the new-fangled arms of the Commonwealth. When William III became king, he placed the shield of Nassau (azure billetty, a lion rampant or) *en surtout* upon the quartered coat of these realms, and George I introduced upon his coinage, in an escutcheon of pretence, the arms of the Electorate of Hanover, which comprised, *inter alia*, gules, two lions passant guardant in pale, or, for Brunswick, and or, semé of hearts gules, a lion rampant azure, for Lüneburg.

² The simple arms of our Norman kings were: Gules, three lions passant guardant in pale, or.

This by the way. But I must return to my description of Simon's first half-crown. The legend on the obverse is OLIVAR • D G R • P • ANG • SCO • ET • HI &c PRO •, which is a shortened form of "Olivarius Dei Gratia Rei-Publicae Angliae Scotiae et Hiberniae et cetera Protector." The spelling OLIVAR strikes one as incorrect, but it was adopted for the whole coinage, though the name appears on the Inauguration medal as OLIVERVS. The abbreviation HI for HIBERNIÆ in the legend is the peculiar feature of the half-crown of 1656. On all the other money of the Protector it is HIB.

The expression "et cetera" (always an indefinite one) is especially so on a coin, where there is no context to explain it. Mr. Henfrey takes it to be a reference to our colonies, and cites, in support of that opinion, a phrase which frequently occurs in contemporary documents, "England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging;" but I doubt whether any one at that period would regard it otherwise than as a covert allusion to the dominion over France formerly claimed by our sovereigns. The inscription on the edge, HAS NISI PERITVRVS MIHI ADIMAT NEMO, may be translated, "Let no one take these (letters) from me on pain of death"—a prohibition against clipping the coin. The same inscription appears on the edge of a coin belonging to the grand-duchy of Tuscany, struck about forty years previously. After the word NEMO on Simon's half-crown of 1656 is a *cross pattée* between two stops. The bars which cross the rim of this and the other coins with inscribed edges mark the joints in the steel collar by means of which the inscriptions were applied, but those bars are usually very faintly impressed.

SIMON'S COINAGE OF 1658.

Early in the year Simon engraved a complete set of silver coins, comprising a crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, and these too were struck by Blondeau's machinery. They are masterpieces of the coiner's art, and the neatness of the design, the sharpness of the impression, and the beautiful gloss upon their surface, exhibit the patience and skill which the two collaborators lavished upon their production.

The chief beauty of the crown [PL VIII. 1] is the exquisite frosting with which it is shaded. The portrait is doubtless an excellent one of Cromwell as he appeared in later life. The legend of the obverse omits the word ET, which occurs only on the two half-crowns, and, if the coin is examined with the aid of a magnifying-glass, it will be observed that the figure 8 is somewhat misshapen, and exhibits a slight projection at the right-hand side of the upper loop. Thereby hangs a tale.

It has been alleged that this projection is nothing else than the head of a figure 6, and that Simon engraved the crown in the year 1656, but afterwards altered the date to 1658. The circumstance seems to be referred to in an obscure passage of the *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*,³ published by the Rev. Mark Noble, in 1787, as follows:—

"The Right Hon. Lord Hawkesbury communicated to me through the Earl of Sandwich, some information, relative to Oliver's coins, which I have never before observed. In 1656 he coined some silver money for circulation, but, finding that the people preferred that with the Commonwealth type, he coined very little of the latter sort in the years 1657 and

³ Third edition, vol. i. p. 310, note.

1658, endeavouring, by this means, to bring the money with his *effigies* into circulation, and, to save a new die, that of 1656 was altered to serve for 1658, by cutting deeper the space between the shield and the inscription, and also between the letters, so that it raised the letters and figures so much, that the figure 6 might easily be altered to 8, and the whole legend appear still more bold and conspicuous."

It is not known that any crowns with the date 1656 were actually issued to the public, so the above passage seems to indicate that an attempt was really made to put the *half-crowns* of the same date into circulation. I can readily believe that the people were not enamoured of Simon's beautiful coins, which did not tally in shape with the Commonwealth money to which they had grown accustomed; for the public have always a rooted objection to any innovation in the currency.

Mr. Folkes adds—

"I have also been informed, by my very ingenious friend, Mr. George Vertue, that he has observed *half-crowns* of this sort, where the last figure of the date had been altered from a 6 to an 8 upon the die."⁴

But none of Simon's *half-crowns* of 1658 show any trace of that alteration in the date which is so obvious in the crown, and it may be that Mr. Folkes, or rather his informant, was mistaken.

I am of opinion, however, that the crown was actually engraved in 1656, but subsequent to the *half-crown*, because, strangely enough, the legend on the larger coin is *abbreviated* from that on the smaller one by the omission of the word ET.

An unfortunate mishap attended the coining of the

⁴ *A Table of English Silver Coins, 1763.*

crown piece, for the die cracked at the very outset of the process, and every specimen which has survived shows a flaw extending across the Protector's neck. Each time the die was used the flaw became more apparent. It was an ill omen for one who had taken a leading part in the execution of the King, and, if there was any element of superstition in Cromwell's nature, the circumstance could not have failed to impress his mind. Indeed, his last days were haunted by a vague fear that his life was threatened.

On reference to the list of coins at the end of this paper, it will be observed that Simon's crown bears upon its edge, after the word NEMO, a mullet of five points, the upper point being vertical. Mr. Henfrey has also described the mark as a mullet. In heraldry, the star has generally six straight rays, with a single one uppermost, while the mullet has five. But as the star is occasionally represented with five points, the true distinction appears to be that the mullet is pierced in the centre, because it represents the rowel of a spur (French *molette*), and the star, whether it be one of five or six points, is of course unpierced (see Woodward and Burnett, *op. cit.*).

Simon's half-crown of 1658 [PL IX. 2] differs from that of 1656 in the position of the wreath, in having stops after the letters D and G, and in wanting them after R and PRO in its obverse legend. It is significant that on the later half-crown the tips of the wreath are sharper, and the hair falling on the cheek less blurred, than on the earlier one. There are also microscopic variations in the ends of the fillet and in the small locks of hair on the neck. The reverse displays a marked difference in the area of the field underlying the heraldic crosses, and

the Irish harp has seven instead of nine strings.* As in the case of the earlier half-crown, the inscription on its edge is followed by a *cross pattée* between two stops. A comparison of the two coins will, I think, prove that one pair of punches was not, as Mr. Henfrey has suggested at p. 133, used to produce both.

He seems to assume that we possess at the Royal Mint the complete apparatus for making Cromwell's money, whereas it is probable that what remains is (like the Sibylline Books) but a fragment of the original whole.

Simon's shilling [Pl. IX. 3] is marred by a flaw in the obverse die, which has raised two lumps upon the field of the coin just above the Protector's forehead. The wreath contains no berries. The edge is neatly milled, so as to produce the appearance of an encircling belt of oval dots.

The sixpence [Pl. IX. 5] is engraved with great care and skill, especially as regards the somewhat crowded lettering of the obverse legend. The wreath contains four berries as on the crown. Its edge is invariably milled with straight lines.

TANNER'S COINAGE.

A notable feature of the second series is the extraordinary variation in the weight of its component coins.

Each piece of Simon's money agrees exactly in weight with the coin of corresponding value belonging to the currency of the Commonwealth, but the pieces comprised in "Tanner's coinage" are of no fixed standard at all.

I give the recorded weights of a few examples,

distinguishing those which have their edges inscribed or milled—

TANNER'S CROWN.

(With inscribed edge.)

Hunterian Museum	431.2 grains.
Brice Collection	452.0 "
Bergne "	477.50 "
British Museum	498.0 "

(With plain edge.)

Hunterian Museum	363.09 "
" " " " " " " " " " " "	465.77 "
Neck Collection	418.0 "
Bergne "	473.50 "
Brice "	477.50 "

N.B.—Simon's crown weighs 464.50 grains.

TANNER'S SHILLING.

(With milled edge.)

British Museum	86.6 "
Cuff Collection	93.0 "
Graham "	97.0 "

(With plain edge.)

Wisbeach Museum	85.4 "
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TANNER'S TWO-SHILLINGS.

(With plain edge.)

British Museum	153.4 "
Hunterian Museum	155.5 "
Addington Collection	162.0 "
Graham "	164.0 "

N.B.—Simon's shilling weighs 92.75 grains.

TANNER'S SIXPENCE.

(With plain edge.)

Preston Collection	59.5 "
Bodleian Library	63.0 "

TANNER'S NINEPENCE.

(With milled edge.)

Addington Collection	. . .	89.0 grains.
Cuff	" . . .	89.0 "

(With plain edge.)

Trattle Collection	. . .	80.0 "
Simkiss	" . . .	86.5 "
British Museum	. . .	89.8 "
Graham Collection	. . .	93.0 "
Hunterian Museum	. . .	93.5 "

N.B.—Simon's sixpence weighs 46.25 grains.

I have made no allusion to Cromwell's gold coinage, because it does not come within the scope of this paper. It should, however, be noted that there is one coin of that class, viz. the half-broad, which passed through a similar evolution, and was reproduced, with the dates 1656 and 1658. But its shield of arms was certainly not struck with the punch for Simon's sixpence, as Mr. Henfrey alleges (p. 140).

The list of coins clearly indicates the peculiarities of "Tanner's coinage."

Tanner's crown [PL. VIII. 2] differs from Simon's in the position of the wreath, in having stops after HIB and PRO in the obverse legend, and after BELLO and 1658 in that of the reverse. The tip of the wreath is very blunt. The lock of hair on the forehead is larger, the hair on the cheek less blurred, and the mantle behind the neck less full than on Simon's crown. The right limb of the cross in the first quarter of the shield is obviously narrower, the harp has eight instead of nine vertical strings, and the heraldic crosses are not frosted, but roughly engraved with cross-lines. After the word NEMO, upon its edge, is

a mullet, between two dots; but it is improperly represented with a single point directed vertically *downwards*. Some examples of the crown have plain edges.

The "Dutch" crown [Pl. VIII. 3] is unworthy to be classed with those of Simon and Tanner, and I only describe it because most collectors of the silver coinage find a place for it in their cabinets. Cromwell's features are weak and wanting in expression, and contrast ill with the masterful face upon Simon's model. This coin is commonly reported to have been executed by a Dutch artist, and it is not unlikely that such was the case, because Holland at that period produced many engravers of English coins and medals. I take it to be intended for sale, as a memento of Cromwell, to those of his admirers who were not sufficiently fortunate to possess genuine examples of his intended currency.

The stops in the legends correspond to those of Simon's crown, and at the end of the inscription on its edge is what may by courtesy be described as a mullet between two dots. The position of the wreath is quite different from the position of those on the other two varieties of the crown. The ends of the fillet are drooping, and the Irish harp has eight *transverse* strings.

There is no half-crown belonging to the second series.

Tanner's shilling [Pl. IX. 4] differs from Simon's in the position of the wreath, in having a stop after R, and in omitting that after O, in the obverse legend. The coin has been so carefully copied from the original that it is difficult to discover a variation which appeals to the naked eye. But the locks of hair falling on the cheek are longer, the Irish harp has *transverse* and not vertical strings. The lower limb of the cross in the first quarter

of the shield does not quite coincide with the edge of the escutcheon of pretence, and the field below the left-hand limb of the cross in the fourth quarter is rather larger than on Simon's shilling.

The edge is nearly always plain, but the specimen in my own collection described in the list is rudely milled with straight lines, rather wide apart. The chief characteristic of Tanner's shilling (and also of his sixpence, which I will describe presently) is the disappearance of the symbol "&c." from the obverse legend, because it could be engraved with more ease on coins of small diameter, if that symbol were omitted, and it was omitted accordingly.

Tanner's so-called two-shilling piece is merely an impression of his shilling die struck upon a heavy flan. The edge of the two-shilling piece, as distinguished from the shilling, is always plain.

Tanner's sixpence [PL. IX. 6] differs from Simon's in the position of the wreath, in having a stop after R and HIB, and in omitting that after G, in the obverse legend. There is a marked flaw between the letters D and G, and, as in the case of the shilling, the symbol "&c." is wanting. The bust has been carefully copied from the original, but the wreath contains no berries, and its tip is somewhat less sharp than Simon's. The hair on the temple is thinner, and the lobe of the ear (?) is not reproduced. On the reverse the heraldic crosses do not extend to the edges of the shields, and so give a disjointed appearance to the design. The Irish harp has only four *transverse* strings. The edge of the sixpence, as distinguished from the ninepence, is always plain.

Tanner's so-called ninepence is only an impression

of his sixpence struck upon a heavy flan. The edge is usually plain, but in some examples it is milled with straight lines.

LIST OF COINS.⁵

SIMON'S CROWN, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D ° G ° R ° P ° ANG ° SCO ° HIB &c
PRO The tip of the wreath points between
the two downstrokes of A in the word ANG.

Rev.—PAX ° QVÆRITVR ° BELLO 1658 The Irish
harp has 9 vertical strings.

Edge.—HAS ° NISI ° PERITVRVS ° MIHI ° ADIMAT °
NEMO ° ★ ° [Pl. VIII. 1.]

TANNER'S CROWN, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D ° G ° R ° P ° ANG ° SCO ° HIB ° &c
PRO ° This differs from Simon's crown in
having stops after HIB and PRO.

The tip of the wreath is very blunt, and
points to the second downstroke of A in the
word ANG.

Rev.—PAX ° QVÆRITVR ° BELLO ° 1658 ° This
differs from Simon's in having stops after
BELLO and 1658.

The Irish harp has 8 vertical strings.

Edge.—HAS ° NISI ° PERITVRVS ° MIHI ° ADIMAT °
NEMO ° ★ ° [Pl. VIII. 2.]

⁵ I have inserted annulets in place of the actual stops, in order better
to draw attention to their positions in the legends.

THE DUTCH CROWN, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D ° G ° R ° P ° ANG ° SCO ° HIB &c
PRO The tip of the wreath points to the
letter N, which has the serif at the bottom
instead of at the top of the cross-stroke.

The ends of the fillet are more drooping.

Rev.—PAX ° QVÆRITVR ° BELLO 1658 The stops of
both legends are similar to those on Simon's
crown.

The Irish harp has 8 transverse strings.

Edge.—HAS ° NISI ° PERITVRVS ° MIHI ° ADIMAT °
NEMO ° ★ ° [Pl. VIII. 3.]

SIMON'S HALF-CROWN, 1656.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D G R ° P ° ANG ° SCO ° ET ° HI &c
PRO ° The tip of the wreath overlaps and
partly conceals the second downstroke of A in
the word ANG.

Rev.—PAX ° QVÆRITVR ° BELLO ° 1656 The Irish
harp has 9 vertical strings.

Edge.—HAS ° NISI ° PERITVRVS ° MIHI ° ADIMAT °
NEMO ° ✠ ° [Pl. IX. 1.]

SIMON'S HALF-CROWN, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D ° G ° R P ° ANG ° SCO ° ET ° HIB
&c PRO ° The tip of the wreath points to the
first downstroke of N in the word ANG.

Rev.—PAX ° QVÆRITVR ° BELLO 1658 The Irish
harp has 7 vertical strings.

Edge.—HAS ° NISI ° PERITVRVS ° MIHI ° ADIMAT
NEMO ° ✠ ° [Pl. IX. 2.]

SIMON'S SHILLING, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR ° D ° G ° R P ° ANG ° SCO ° HIB &c
PRO The tip of the wreath points to the
first downstroke of A in the word ANG. The
wreath contains no berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658 The Irish harp has 7 vertical strings.

Edge.—Milled with raised oval dots. [Pl. IX. 3.]

TANNER'S SHILLING, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR • D G • R • P • ANG • SCO • HIB PRO
The tip of the wreath is between P and A in the word ANG. The wreath contains no berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658 The Irish harp has 7 transverse strings.

Edge.—Milled with straight lines.

Weight of specimen described, 97 grains.

[Pl. IX. 4.]

TANNER'S TWO-SHILLINGS, 1658.

(From the same die as the shilling.)

Obv.—OLIVAR • D G • R • P • ANG • SCO • HIB PRO
The tip of the wreath is between P and A in the word ANG. The wreath contains no berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658 The Irish harp has 7 transverse strings.

Edge.—Plain.

Weight of specimen described, 164 grains.

SIMON'S SIXPENOE, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR • D • G • R • P • ANG • SCO • HIB &c
PRO The tip of the wreath points to the first downstroke of A in the word ANG. The wreath contains 4 berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658 The Irish harp has 7 vertical strings.

Edge.—Milled with straight lines. [Pl. IX. 5.]

TANNER'S SIXPENOE, 1658.

Obv.—OLIVAR • D • G • R • P • ANG • SCO • HIB • PRO
The tip of the wreath points to the downstroke of P. The wreath contains no berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658 The Irish harp has 4 transverse strings.

Edge.—Plain.

[PL IX. 6.]

TANNER'S NINEPENCE, 1658.

(From the same die as the sixpence.)

Obv.—OLIVAR • D • G R • P • ANG • SCO • HIB • PRO
The tip of the wreath points to the downstroke of P. The wreath contains no berries.

Rev.—PAX • QVÆRITVR • BELLO 1658

Edge.—Plain.

Weight of specimen described, 93 grains.

T. H. B. GRAHAM.

MISCELLANEA.

THE INITIAL COINAGE OF CORCYRA.

WHILE making a careful study of the early coins of European Greece with a view to my paper in *Corolla Numismatica*, I became very doubtful as to the correct attribution of the primitive triobols, trihemibols, and hemibols ascribed to Phocis in B. M. Cat., *Cent. Gr.*, p. 14, Nos. 1-6, pl. iii. 1, 2. There seemed to be nothing to support the claims of Phocis, unless it might be *provenance*; and I therefore wrote to Mr. Warwick Wroth, who kindly informed me that, while the *provenance* of No. 2 was unknown, the other five came from the Woodhouse Collection, which was formed in Corfu. The conclusion is obvious. These coins are the initial issue of Corcyra: their fabric—globular and punch-struck, their weight—light Aeginetic, their type—a cow's (not a bull's) head, and their probable *provenance*, all confirm this attribution. They must be transferred to Corcyra, and Phocis remains, pending further discoveries, without any coinage anterior to the middle of the fifth century.

H. B. EARLE-FOX.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS FOUND WITH ROMAN COINS IN ENGLAND.

ON April 17th, 1907, Mr. A. H. Baldwin called the attention of the Society, at the evening meeting, to a small find of Roman bronze coins, ranging from Agrippa to Domitian, forty-three in number, which had been associated with eighteen Ancient British coins of the "Hod Hill" type in an earthenware vessel. The locality in which the coins were found is Timsbury, near Romsey, Hants, and the find took place in February, 1907. A special interest attaches to the hoard, inasmuch as so large a proportion of it consisted of the British coins current in the district. The type of these is Evans, Plate G, Nos. 5 and 6, and a specimen was found by the late Mr. Durden, in his excavations at Hod Hill, near Blandford, in company with a "second-brass" coin of one of the early Emperors.

Mr. Walters has kindly placed at my disposal a list of the

Roman coins found at Timsbury, which it appears desirable to place on record in the pages of the *Chronicle*. It is as follows:—

SECOND BRASS.

Agrippa	3
Claudius	24
Nero	9
Vespasian	4
Domitian	2
	<hr/>
	42

LARGE BRASS.

Domitian	1
	<hr/>
	43
British	18
	<hr/>
	61

The sestertius of Domitian is well struck and slightly patinated. Mr. Walters has kindly furnished me with a description of it, from which it appears that it belongs to the type of Cohen (2nd ed.), No. 510.

Obv.—IMP . CAES . DOMIT . AVG . GERM . COS . XII CENS .
PER . P . P . Laureate bust of Emperor, r., with aegis.

Rev.—S . C . in exergue. Emperor l., in military costume, with thunderbolt in his r. hand and a spear in his l., crowned by Victory, who holds a palm in her l. hand.

The date of this coin is 86 A.D., and judging from its condition the date of the hoard must be so late as about 90 A.D., at which time the native copper coinage must still have remained in circulation in the district.

J. E.

FAVSTA N . F. AND OTHER COINS.

AMONG a number of Æ³ which recently came into my hands, I found a specimen of the following scarce coin:—

Obv.—FAVSTA N . F. (*Nobilissima Femina*). Draped bust to r., the hair deeply waved and knotted behind the neck.

Rev.—No inscription or mint-mark. A laurel-wreath enclosing a star of eight points.

Cohen attributes this coin to Flavia Maxima Fausta, daughter of Maximian Hercules, and wife of Constantine the Great; married 307 A.D.; killed by order of her husband

326 A.D. Other writers prefer to attribute it to Fausta, the supposed wife of Constantius II, a lady of whom there is no mention in history. I think that Cohen's attribution is correct, and that the contrary view would not have obtained at all if the coin inscribed with the name Fausta stood alone; but it has almost necessarily followed on the attribution of the better-known piece, which bears the inscription HELENA N. F., to some Helena other than the mother of Constantine the Great. The style of the two coins is so similar that it cannot be doubted that they were issued at the same time.

An examination of a number of coins of the wife of Constantine the Great, inscribed FLAV. MAX. FAVSTA AVG., issued by different mints, shows that the portraits vary, no two even from the same mint being quite alike, but the hair, in every case except one, is waved and knotted in the manner above mentioned, which is not found on any other coins of the lower empire. It resembles closely the style sometimes employed on coins of Faustina the Younger, and it seems possible that, attracted by the similarity of name, the latter empress may have taken pains to imitate the earlier one, with whose portrait she was probably familiar. The profiles on these coins show considerable variation, but some, particularly those of Treves, approximate very closely to that on the piece reading FAVSTA N. F. (so much so that it may well be that the N. F. pieces were issued by that mint), and it can hardly be doubted that the same lady is portrayed on all of them, whichever form of legend is employed. The one coin which materially differs in style shows the hair dressed in the manner familiar on the coins inscribed FL. HELENA AVGVSTA.

Without attempting to discuss fully the question of the Helenas, it may be pointed out that the portrait on the coin reading HELENA N. F. is that of an aged lady, and in this respect it differs from most of the common coins of Flavia Helena. The features are, however, not dissimilar, and there is one coin of the mint of Rome which, with the legend FL. HELENA AVGVSTA, depicts quite a middle-aged lady, and forms a connecting link between the old and young portraits. If it be admitted that the two coins reading N. F. are contemporary, then the dates become important. If HELENA N. F. was the wife of Crispus, it is unlikely that her portrait would have appeared after the execution of her husband and Flavia Maxima Fausta in 326 A.D.; and, as Crispus was then but twenty-six years of age, he can hardly have been the husband of the aged lady depicted on the coin. Flavia Helena, on the other hand, died two years later, at the age of ninety,

when Constantius II, afterwards, it is supposed, the husband of the second Fausta, was but nine years old. The coinage of the elder Helena and the younger Fausta could not have been contemporaneous, and it seems that Helena the wife of Crispus must follow Fausta the wife of Constantius II into numismatic obscurity.

P. H. W.



AN ANGLO-SAXON BROOCH.

THE circular bronze brooch, of which an illustration is given above, was found recently on the south side of Winchester Cathedral, to the east of the south transept. When it was exhibited at the Society it was the property of Mr. J. B. Colson, F.R.I.B.A. It consists of a circular central ornament or disc, surrounded by a border of five concentric dotted lines. Across the central ornament is inscribed the name HEREMOD, retrograde, but blundered into OOEHEH. The inscription is placed below a straight line, from which springs a rose-branch, consisting of a rose attached to a straight stem with leaves or a leaf on either side. Below the inscription is a rosette. The diameter is 1.55 in. The chief interest of this object is due to the circumstance that the central disc is a copy of the reverse type of a penny of Edward the Elder, son of Alfred the Great, from which it only varies in not having a rosette at each termination of the straight line above the name HEREMOD, which in the case of the coin is that of the moneyer. It is evident that the maker of this brooch copied his design from an impression of the penny of Edward, and as he was probably unable to read, he only reproduced the impression as it lay before him, and in consequence inscribed the name backwards. The inscription is too crude to suggest

that the brooch was cast in a mould made from the coin itself ; in which case it would not have been retrograde. Edward's reign extended from 901-925 A.D. As, however, the coins of this type must have been struck somewhat late in his reign, we cannot put the making of this brooch earlier than circ. 920 A.D. It probably occurred some little time later.

The obverse of the coin of Edward has in the centre a small cross pattée, and around it in a circle between two lines the king's name. There are no signs of this type on the back of the brooch, which is plain, and is furnished with the usual pin and fastenings still intact. An original specimen of one of these coins is figured in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii. pl. viii. No. 6. This type was copied by Edmund, son of Edward ; but in that instance it approaches somewhat nearer the design of the brooch, since the rosettes at the ends of the straight line above the name are omitted. The moneyer's name is, however, ÆDELMOD, though Heremod was also a moneyer of that reign. A specimen of this coin is figured in the *Brit. Mus. Cat., Anglo-Saxon Coins*, vol. ii. pl. xi. No. 9.

It need scarcely be mentioned that brooches of this description are extremely rare. There is another one of silver in private hands, which has in the centre a bust to right, crowned, and around the legend +FVDEMAN FECID, and on the back a small cross pattée encircled by the legend NOMINE DOMINI. Around the central disc is a border formed of twelve concentric dotted circles. The diameter of this brooch is 3.1 ins. On the back the fastenings of the pin still remain, and the whole is strengthened by six V-shaped bands running from the centre. This very remarkable brooch was found at Canterbury, and is figured in *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, 1903, p. 210. As the central disc is also copied from a coin of Edward the Elder or Athelstan, it is most probable that it was made at the same time as the one now illustrated. Sir John Evans has a similar kind of brooch in lead, but the centre ornament is a barbarous copy of the obverse of a Roman coin. It has a bust turned to right, and around a blundered legend ; the whole encircled by a border of three concentric dotted lines. This brooch, which is also of the Anglo-Saxon period, was found at Boxmoor, in Hertfordshire, and is figured in the *Proceedings Soc. Ant.*, 1903, p. 211.

H. A. G.



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GOLD COINS OF THE BRIGANTES

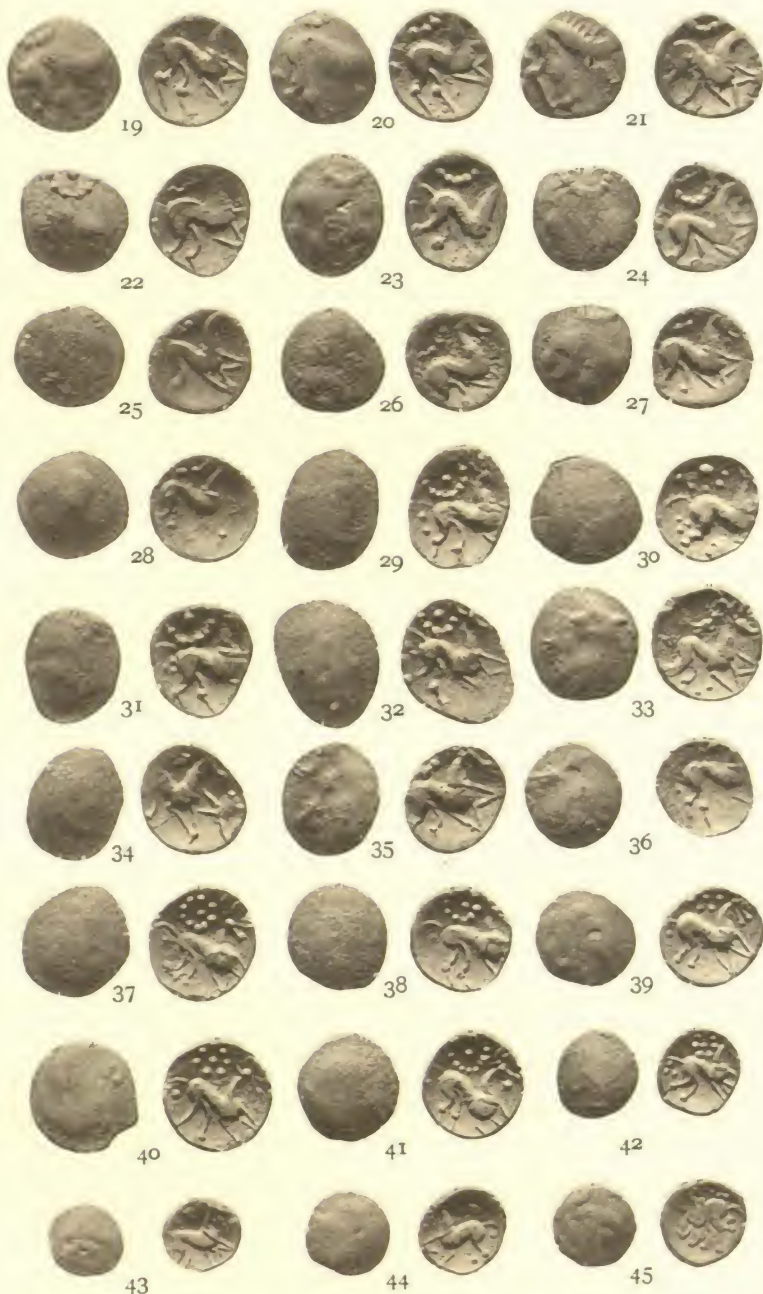




GOLD COINS OF THE BRIGANTES



GOLD COINS OF THE BRIGANTES



SILVER COINS OF THE BRIGANTES





1



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2



3



3





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2



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6



6



V.

ON SOME RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN GOLD COINS.

(See Plate X.)

IN continuation of three former memoirs under nearly the same title,¹ I now have the pleasure of submitting to the Royal Numismatic Society some notes upon sixteen gold coins, all of which are in my own collection.

As I have observed on former occasions, I make use of the term "unpublished" in the somewhat limited sense of the coins to which it is applied not appearing in the second edition of Cohen's *Médailles Impériales*. I copy the description of the first coin from that given by Mr. H. A. Grueber, in the forthcoming British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Roman Republic. In describing the coins I omit all mention of the beaded circles. The numbers of the descriptions of the coins correspond to those in the Plate.

NO. 1. ANTISTIA FAMILY. 16 B.C.

Obv.—Bust of Victory r., draped, hair drawn back and tied in a knot; around, C · ANTISTI · VETVS III · VIR ·

Rev.—A priest standing r., sacrificing at a lighted and garlanded altar, on the other side of which is

¹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. viii. (1868), p. 223; Third Ser., Vol. vi. (1886), p. 263; Fourth Ser., Vol. II. (1902), p. 345.

a victimarius, holding with l. hand a bull by the horn, and in r. the sacrificial knife (*cultus*); around, PRO VALETVDINE CAESARIS; in the exergue, S.P.Q.R. (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*).

N. 126 $\frac{1}{4}$ grs.

Caius Antistius Vetus was one of the triumviri monetales in 16 B.C., his colleagues being Lucius Mescinius Rufus and Lucius Vinicius. Numismatists are not agreed as to whether the offerings made on behalf of Caesar (who at that time was Augustus) were for his general health and prosperity, or for his recovery from some specific illness such as those which befell Augustus at Tarraco in Spain, and during the war in Syria. We have, however, distinct evidence as to the origin of the ceremonies recorded by this coin.

To quote from Smith's *Dictionary*: "In 16 B.C. the Romans suffered a defeat on the Lower Rhine by some German tribes, and Augustus, who thought the danger greater than it really was, went himself to Gaul, and spent two years there, to regulate the government of that province and to make the necessary preparations for defending it against the Germans." But we learn from Dion Cassius² that the night after his departure the shrine or temple of Juventas (Νεότητος μέγαρον) was burnt, and that on this account, as well as in consequence of other prodigies that had already taken place, prayers were offered for the return of Augustus. That his VALETVDIO was implied in his REDITVS is shown by denarii struck under the colleague of Antistius, L. Mescinius Rufus, with the inscriptions S.P.Q.R. V.P.S.PR.S. ET RED. AVG. (*vota publica suscepta pro salute et*

² Lib. liv. 19.

reditu Augusti). Others of his denarii bear analogous inscriptions recording the *Vota Publica*.

The other triumvir monetalis contents himself with recording the good work done by Augustus on the Via Flaminia and the erection of a statue and a triumphal arch in his honour.

The coin that I have been describing is not unpublished, but is of great rarity, the only other specimen known to exist being in the Vienna Cabinet. This has, however, been frequently figured by most of those who of late years have treated of Roman family coins. The obverse has, indeed, already appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, inasmuch as it forms one of the illustrations to Lady Evans's "Hair-dressing of Roman Ladies."³

The coin itself is the work of a consummate artist.

NO. 2. VESPASIAN. 70 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate head of the Emperor r.; around, IMP . CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG . TR . P .

Rev.—Equity, draped, standing l.; in her r. hand a pair of scales, in her l. a sceptre; around, COS . ITER TR . POT

W. 110½ grs.

This coin differs from Cohen, No. 80, in having COS . ITER instead of COS . DESIG . IIII on the reverse and in having TR . P . on the obverse. A similar coin but without TR . P . on the obverse, was in the Montagu Sale, No. 186.

The principal interest of the coin consists in the

³ *Num. Chron.*, Fourth Ser., Vol. vi. (1906), Pl. III. 10.

fact that it was found so far north as the neighbourhood of Inverurie, about 14 miles north-west of Aberdeen, it having been brought into that town in some peat destined to be used as fuel.

As to the date of its deposit in the peat-bog, it seems to recall the days of Agricola and Calgacus, when in 84 A.D. the conquest of Britain by Rome was practically completed. Dr. Joseph Anderson has informed me of several hoards of Roman denarii found in Orkney and Shetland, as well as in Scotland, but they are mostly of later date than the time of Vespasian.

NO. 3. ANTONINUS PIUS. 144 A.D.

Obv.—Draped, bare-headed bust of Antoninus r.; around, ANTONINVS AVG · PIVS P · P ·

Rev.—Jupiter, partially draped, seated on chair to l.; in his r. hand a thunderbolt, his l. resting on a vertical sceptre; around, TR · P · COS · III · DES · IIII

W. 109 grs.

This coin was found at or near Toledo in Spain, in the year 1888, and was purchased by me in Madrid shortly after its discovery. Although the type of Jupiter seated is described by Cohen (Nos. 420–422) as occurring on three varieties of the gold coins of Antoninus, all with the legend IMPERATOR II, the coin that I have here described is “unpublished.”

The coins with the legend IMPERATOR II, of which I possess a specimen, are of especial interest in this country, inasmuch as Antoninus received this title in recognition of the conquests in Britain made by his legate, Lollius Urbicus, and of the construction

of the turf or cespitious wall that extended from the Firth of Forth to that of Clyde.⁴

NO. 4. ANTONINUS PIUS. 148 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate head of the Emperor r.; in front, the gorgoneion; around, ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P.
P · TR · P · XI

Rev.—PRIMI DECENNALES, within wreath of oak-leaves.
N. 109 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

This remarkably beautiful aureus was found near Rome in 1903, and came into my possession shortly after its finding. It differs from Cohen, No. 669, in having the word DECENNALES in full, and in omitting COS IIII on the reverse.

The Ludi Decennales were celebrated by the early Roman Emperors, and the Decennalia Vota offered by the people on the completion of the first ten years of their reign. The practice originated with Augustus, who refused the supreme power when it was offered to him for life, and would only take it for ten years, and when these expired for another ten years, and so on to the end of his life. The interval was afterwards reduced from ten years to five, and the Vota Quinquennalia offered at the end of every lustrum. In later days we find the Decennalia celebrated at the beginning of the reign, as was the case with Pertinax, whose imperial power extended over a period of less than three months. Those who wish to go further into the question of these prayers and games, cannot do better than consult Eckhel.⁵

⁴ Eckhel, *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii. 14; Capitolinus, *Ant. Pius*, edit. 1620, p. 19.

⁵ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, viii. 473.

No. 5. FAUSTINA I. *Circ.* 181 A.D.

Obv.—Draped bust of Empress r.; around, DIVA FAUSTINA

Rev.—Fortune, draped and veiled, standing r.; in her outstretched r. hand a patera, her l. resting on a rudder placed upon a globe; around, AVGVSTA.

N. 112 grs.

This coin, which is beautifully struck, and in the most perfect preservation, was found in the great hoard at Minieh, Egypt, in 1897. The legends are, of course, well known, but the type differs from any of those described by Cohen as on gold coins reading AVGVSTA. He describes several with the legend AETERNITAS. The figure is much like that of FORTVNA OBSEQVENS—Indulgent Fortune—which occurs on coins of Antoninus Pius in all three metals, the difference consisting in the absence of the cornucopiae. As the coins were struck after the death of Faustina, this omission may be significant of the fact that, though her memory survived, she was no longer able to be “faithful in every good work.”

Eckhel⁶ calls attention to the spelling of OPSEQVENS on the coins of Antoninus, but this feature is not noticed by Cohen.

No. 6. PESCENNIUS NIGER. 193-4 A.D.

Obv.—Bearded head r., laureate; around, IMP. CAES. PESC. NIGER IVST. AVG.

Rev.—*Fortuna redux* seated l.; in her r. a cornucopiae, in her l. a rudder resting on a globe; around, ROMAE AETERNAE

N. 102½ grs.

⁶ *Doct. Num. Vet.*, vii. 24.

I have already described and published this interesting coin in the *Corolla Numismatica*, dedicated to Dr. Barclay V. Head, in 1906, and make no apology for repeating a photograph of the coin in the *Numismatic Chronicle*. I shall, however, confine myself principally to numismatic details, and will refer the reader to the *Corolla* for an historical view of the conditions under which the coin was issued.

The first detail that strikes the eye is the excellent manner in which the portrait of Niger has been engraved, and the very indifferent way in which the legend in Roman capitals has been added. The same contrast between the type and the legend is observable, but in a less degree, on the reverse. It seems probable that the engravers were "Orientals unacquainted with the Latin language and Western mythology, and in copying a prototype it may have been the case that one 'artist' engraved the type and another added the legends."

FORTVNAE REDVCI, either in full or in a more or less abridged form, is a common reverse legend on the silver coins of Niger; but it is hard to fix exactly from what coins this legend and the appropriate type were copied. Possibly some of the silver coins of Hadrian were the prototypes. The seated type of Fortune, with the legend in an abridged form, is common enough on the silver coins of Commodus. The ROMAE AETERNAE silver coins, with the seated figure, are abundant of the same Emperor.

Transpositions of the same character as to legend are to be noted "on silver coins of Niger (Cohen, Nos. 261 and 45), on which Fortuna and Aequitas, and Justitia and Providentia exchange places. Barbarisms in the legends also occur."

The gold coin that I have here been considering was, I believe, found in Asia Minor. I bought it at Constantinople in 1903.

NO. 7. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS. 202 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate and draped bust of Emperor r.; around,
SEVER . P . AVG . P . M . TR . P . X . COS . III

Rev.—Galley with five rowers l., eight oars and two rudders visible, in the prow a vexillum, in the stern beneath the aplustre, a kind of cabin, in which are three seated figures, behind them two military standards, one of them surmounted by an eagle; above, ADVENTVS.; in exergue, AVGVSTOR.

N. 112 grs.

This coin was found in Egypt, and was added to my collection in 1904. The type of the reverse is, I believe, entirely novel, the gold coins with ADVENT . AVG . (Cohen, No. 2) exhibiting Severus, Caracalla, and Geta on horseback to right and raising their right hands. On the coin now under consideration they are all three seated in a shelter at the stern of a galley, with the military standards behind them.

It is somewhat remarkable that in my collection is a gold coin of Severus with the three horsemen reverse, the obverse of which is apparently from the same die as this with the galley.

We may perhaps assume that the mint authorities had felt the absurdity of commemorating the arrival of the Emperor by sea, by representing him on horseback, and adopted a new type more in accordance with his coming by water. As a matter of fact, Severus entered his third consulate while in Syria, Caracalla being his

colleague; and before returning to Rome in order to celebrate the Decennalia Vota and to be present at the wedding of Caracalla and Plautilla, he visited Arabia, Palestine, and Egypt. Having this arrangement in view, the striking of such a coin and its exportation to Egypt seem in the highest degree opportune.

No. 8. JULIA DOMNA. *Circ.* 200 A.D.

Obv.—Draped bust of Empress r., the hair wavy; around,
IVLIA AVGVSTA

Rev.—Julia, draped, diademed, and veiled; in her r. a patera, in her l. a sceptre, standing before an altar round which a serpent (?) is coiled; behind the altar, three military standards, that in the centre ending in an eagle, the other two in hands; around, MATER CASTRORVM

N. 113½ grs.

A coin with the same legends and type, but in "second brass," is described by Cohen, No. 120. I believe, however, that the coin is unpublished in gold. The British Museum has lately acquired a coin in most particulars identical with mine, but having only two military standards on the reverse.

Julia's regard for the title of MATER seems to have been almost unbounded. We find her as Mater Augustorum, Castrorum, Deum, Senatus, and Patriae, as well as under the title Mater Magna. There may, however, have been some confusion between Cybele and the Empress. The title MATER CASTRORVM had already been used by Faustina II, and was subsequently applied to Julia Mamaea.

No. 9. GETA, SEVERUS, AND DOMNA. 201 A.D.

Obv.—Draped youthful bust of the Caesar r.; around,
P . SEPT . GETA CAES . PONT .

Rev.—Draped and radiate bust of Severus r., superimposed on the draped and diademed bust of Julia Domna placed in a crescent; around,
CONCORDIAE AETERNAE

N. 111 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

A similar coin of Caracalla, with the heads of his parents on the reverse, has already been published by Cohen (No. 1), but this corresponding coin of Geta seems to be entirely unknown. The coin of Caracalla was struck in the fourth year of his tribunitian power, and though that of Geta is not dated, there is so close a correspondence between these coins of the two brothers that we seem to be justified in regarding them as contemporaneous and struck in 201 A.D.

That of Geta, Septimius Severus, and Julia Domna was found in Egypt.

No. 10. CARACALLA. 204 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate and draped bust r.; around, ANTONINVS
PIVS AVG .

Rev.—Liberality, draped, standing l.; in her r. hand a *tesseira*, in her l. a cornucopine; around,
LIBERALITAS AVGG . V .

N. 109 $\frac{3}{4}$ grs.

This coin was probably found in Egypt, but I acquired it at Vienna in 1906. It is in perfect condition. The type is known in silver, and is described as No. 124 by Cohen. The coins commemorating the various Liberalities of Caracalla, which extend to no less than

nine in number, are by no means common in gold. There were none either in the Montagu or the Ponton d'Amécourt Collection.

The *tessera* in the hand of Liberality is a kind of token, or ticket, that entitled the holder to a certain quantity of corn or to a certain amount of money.

NO. 11. CARACALLA. 204-208 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate head r., the neck bare; around, ANTONINVS PIVS AVG

Rev.—Victory in a biga r.; in her r. a whip, in her l. the reins; above, VICTORIAE; in exergue, AVGG.

N. 112½ grs.

This coin is not in Cohen, though the type in silver is described as No. 622. Even in silver the coin is rather rare. Judging from the portrait alone, it would be almost impossible to say whether it is that of Caracalla or Elagabalus, but the GG on the reverse settles the question.

NO. 12. BALBINUS. 238 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate and draped bust r.; around, IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG

Rev.—Victory, draped, standing l.; in her r. a wreath, in her l. a palm-branch; around, VICTORIA AVGG.

N. 89 grs.

I am glad to call attention to the second known gold coin of Balbinus. The first, which also is in my own collection, I described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1902.⁷ The coin now under consideration, though

⁷ Fourth Ser., Vol. II. p. 358, Pl. XIX. 3.

presenting the same reverse type, has been struck from entirely different dies, is of considerably larger module, and is ten per cent. heavier in weight. It is said to have been found at Zag-a-zig, in Lower Egypt, in 1904, the first example having been found near Alexandria, in 1902.

Another point of difference between the two coins is that the titles of the Emperor are given at greater length on the second coin than on the first. I need hardly say that the D. after CAES. is indicative of DECIMVS. Inasmuch as the reign of Balbinus and Pupienus extended over a period of three months only, the comparative abundance of their coins in silver and bronze is remarkable, and the extreme scarcity of their gold issues may by some fortunate finding of a hoard of coins in Egypt or elsewhere, be greatly diminished.

For general remarks on the subject of these two coins, I must refer to my former paper. I will only add that the authenticity of the second coin is above suspicion, and that its condition is even superior to that of the first. We have not sufficient details before us to speculate on the discrepancy of weight between the two.

No. 13. CARINUS. 283-284 A.D.

Obv.—Laureate and bearded draped bust r.; around,
IMP . M . AVR . CARINVS P . F . AVG .

Rev.—Carinus and Numerianus standing and joining hands; between them a globe surmounted by a Victory, who crowns them both; the figure to the r. holds a spear; around them, ADVENTVS AVGG . NN . In exergue, C .

W. 85½ grs.

This coin was found in Egypt, in 1904, and the type was unknown to Cohen. He has, however, described a

gold coin of Numerianus, the brother of Carinus, with the same reverse. The two persons joining hands he identifies as Carus and Numerianus, but I am inclined to regard them as the two colleagues in the Empire, Carinus and Numerianus. As the one was in Gaul and the other in Asia at the time of their father's death, the mint authorities at Rome may have adopted this reverse to express their desire that both might shortly return to the capital of the Empire.

I am at a loss to interpret the meaning of the letter C, in the exergue of the reverse. It occurs in a similar position on the corresponding coin of Numerianus already mentioned.

NO. 14. DIOCLETIANUS.

Obv.—Helmeted and cuirassed bust of Emperor l.; on his r. a spear, on his l. an embossed buckler; around, IMP . C . DIOCLETIANVS P . F . AVG .

Rev.—Jupiter, standing l.; in his r. a thunderbolt, in his l. a vertical sceptre; around, IOVI CONSERVATORI .

N. 84·6 grs.

I acquired this coin in the O. Helbing Sale, May, 1907. Its principal interest lies in the portrait on the obverse, which, so far as I am aware, is not to be seen on any other gold coin of Diocletian. The type was unknown in that metal to Cohen, who, however, describes a *folles* with a helmeted bust and the legend VIRTVS DIOCLETIANI AVG.

Some of the bronze coins of Carausius display a nearly corresponding helmeted bust.

As to the reverse, it can only be said that Jupiter

Conservator forms the reverse type of upwards of a hundred different coins of Diocletian. This abundance was the natural result of his adopting the title of Jovius in the same manner as Maximian did that of Hercules. The object of these titles was, it is said, to declare to the world that, while the elder possessed supreme wisdom to devise and direct, the younger could exert irresistible might in the execution of all projects.

NO. 15. DIOCLETIANUS.

Obv.—Laureate head, bearded, in high relief r.; around, DIOCLETIANVS P . F . AVG .

Rev.—Jupiter, nude, standing facing, but looking to r.; in his r. a vertical sceptre, his mantle over his l. shoulder; around, IOVI TVTAT . AVGG.; in exergue, P . T

W. 77½ grs.

This coin was acquired in Egypt, in 1904. It was, however, apparently struck at Trier.

Cohen has recorded "small brass" coins both of Diocletian and Maximian, with the reverse legend IOVI TVTATORI AVGG and a somewhat different figure of Jupiter; but the gold coin now described is, I believe, here for the first time published. The title of Tutator, or Protector, associated with Jupiter, does not occur on the coins of any other Emperor.

In workmanship this coin closely corresponds with that of another of the same Emperor, also bearing the letters P . T, in the exergue, but with the legend IOVI FVLGERATORI, and the device of Jupiter slaying a giant.⁹ It is hard to assign an exact date to this and the preceding coin; but we know at least that No. 14 was

⁹ Cohen, No. 285; but Jupiter is turned to r. and not to l.

struck before the reform of the coinage in 295 B.C., and No. 15 soon after that date.

I now come to the last of the coins included in the Plate which I have to describe. It is not unpublished, nor is it of extreme rarity, though there was no example of the coin in either the Ponton d'Amécourt or the Montagu Collection. It is, however, a scarce coin, as I had been on the look-out for a specimen for at least twenty years, and it was not until 1905 that I obtained, at a sale in Paris, the *solidus* that I now proceed to describe.

No. 16. MAGNUS MAXIMUS. 383-388 A.D.

Obv.—Diademed and draped bust r.; around, D . N . MAG .
MAXIMVS P . F . AVG .

Rev.—Maximus and Victor seated facing, holding between them a globe, above which is the upper part of Victory facing; below, a palm-branch; around, VICTORIA AVGG; in exergue, AVG . OB .
W. 67·6 grs.

The principal interest in the coin attaches to the exergual inscription, AVG . OB . and in order to elucidate the meaning of this mint-mark I am sure that the Society will pardon me if I have recourse to a paper⁹ that I wrote fully forty years ago, and to another¹⁰ of still earlier date by the late Mr. F. W. Madden.

From these it appears that a gold coin of Maximus with this mint-mark was described as being in the Royal Collection at Paris in 1718, by Banduri,¹¹ who, however, offers no suggestion as to its meaning.

⁹ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. vii. (1867), 329. ¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, I. (1861), 122.

¹¹ *Catal. Numm.*, etc., II. 519.

The credit of assigning these coins to the London mint is due to the late Count de Salis, who quotes two passages in Ammianus Marcellinus, to show that in the days of Magnus Maximus, who was a contemporary of Ammianus, London was known by the name of Augusta. It seems worth while, for the sake of the present generation, again to cite these passages, which run as follows: "Egressus tendensque ad Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellavit;"¹² and "Theodosius vero, dux nominis inclyti, animo vigore collecto, ab Augustâ profectus quam veteres appellavere Lundinium."¹³

It appears also from the cosmographer of Ravenna,¹⁴ that London was called "Augusta" during the Roman domination. In the *Notitia Dignitatum* is likewise mentioned a "Praefectus thesaurorum Augustensium in Britannis."¹⁵

Count de Salis¹⁶ himself has also written on the "Revival of the London Mint by Magnus Maximus in 383," and says that the coins with the mint-mark AVG. OB. are generally supposed to have been struck at Treves; but as we have similar coins with both SMTR and TROB, it is far more likely that AVG. OB. belongs to Londinium Augusta than to Augusta Trevirorum, which was better known under the later Empire by the name of Treviri.

There is in the British Museum a gold coin of Theodosius I with AVG. OB and the same reverse type as these of Maximus, but Count de Salis was inclined to regard it as of barbarous fabric. Two silver coins of Maximus¹⁷ are known with this mint-mark. Both were found in a hoard

¹² *Hist.*, xxvii. 8.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, xxviii. 3.

¹⁴ Ed. Berlin, 1860, p. 429.

¹⁵ Smith's *Dict. Geog.*, s.v. "Londinium."

¹⁶ *Num. Chron.*, N.S., Vol. vii. (1867). 61.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. vii. (1867), 62, 328, and 330.

of coins dug up in one of our western counties, and both passed through my hands on their way to the National Collection. Each of them is unique, and their presence in an English hoard strongly confirms the view that the solidus that we have been considering was issued from the mint of London.

I will only add that a gold coin of this type is figured by Mr. Keary, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1879, in illustration of the derivation of the devices on certain sceattas from Roman sources, and that Mr. L. Forrer has communicated an interesting article on the identical coin now exhibited to the *Bulletin de Numismatique*, published by Madame Raymond Serrure. He enters more fully than I have thought necessary into the history of London and Magnus Maximus, and gives an illustration of the rare penny of Alfred the Great, the reverse of which is copied from that of the Roman solidi with two Emperors seated.

JOHN EVANS.

VI.

ANGLO-GALLIC COINS.

(Continued from Vol. VI. p. 327.)

(See Plates XI.-XIV.)

EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE.

IN 1362 Edward III raised Aquitaine into a Principality, and by a Royal charter dated July 19, 1362, he created the Black Prince, Prince of Aquitaine. By a Charter of Explanation of the same date, he set out the powers and privileges to be enjoyed by the Prince, which included the right "to make coin and stamp monies of gold and silver, or any other; and to grant unto the masters and workmen of the mint indulgences and privileges usually to such given."¹

It is by virtue of these charters that the Black Prince struck the coins described below. The mints employed by him appear to have been Agen, D'Aix, Bordeaux, Figeac or Fontenay, Limoges, Poitiers, Rochelle, and Tarbes. His coins, both of gold and of silver, are very numerous, and the mints must therefore have been very actively employed under his brief rule.

Although created Prince of Aquitaine in July, 1362, it was not till a year later that the Black Prince left

¹ Gascony Rolls, 36 Edward III, M. 18, n. 17, 487.

England to take up his new post. He arrived at Bordeaux at the beginning of July, 1363, and was installed as Prince of Aquitaine in the Cathedral of St. Andrew, at Bordeaux, on the 9th of that month. In the following month he started on a tour through the Principality, to receive the homage of the various towns, visiting first Bergerac, then Périgord, Quercy, Rouergue, Rochelle, Poitiers, and Agen, returning to Bordeaux early in 1364.

In 1366 he agreed to help Pedro the Cruel of Spain, who had been driven off his throne by Henry of Trastamare, and he proceeded to fit out an expedition to help to reinstate him. Froissart tells us that he melted down his vessels of gold and silver to coin money for the purposes of the expedition. The army set out for Spain in February, 1367, and accomplished its object, but Pedro failed to repay the Prince the money promised to him for the pay of his soldiers, and on the return of the army to Aquitaine, it was again necessary for Edward to melt down plate to provide money for the troops. Even thus it was impossible to provide sufficient money to pay them, and at the beginning of 1368 the "fouage," or hearth tax, was levied to raise the necessary funds.

The results of this tax are well known. The Lords of Albret and Armagnac appealed to the King of France against the Black Prince, and the King of France summoned the Black Prince to appear before him in Paris to answer their charges on January 25, 1369. This was in direct violation of the Treaty of Brétigny, and the Prince's reply is well known: "Willingly will we go to the Court of Paris, as the King of France orders it; but it shall be with helmet on head, and 60,000 men with us."

But the Prince's health was shattered, and these bold words were not followed up by equally bold action. War was declared by France on April 29, 1369, and Ponthieu was invaded the same day. Within the week the whole province was lost. On June 3 Edward III reassumed the title of King of France, but the French were rapidly gaining, and the English rapidly losing ground. In December, 1369, the King of France formally confiscated Aquitaine, on the ground that the Black Prince had not appeared in Paris to answer his summons. In the following year Du Guesclin ravaged Aquitaine to within five leagues of Bordeaux, and in the same year Limoges was surrendered to the Duke of Berri through the treachery of its bishop. Limoges was, however, re-taken in October, 1370, and sacked by the Black Prince. In January, 1371, the Black Prince, completely broken down in health, left for England, having appointed the Duke of Lancaster his lieutenant in Aquitaine. In August, 1372, La Rochelle surrendered to the French, and by the end of that year the whole of Aquitaine, with the exception of Bordeaux and a few other towns, was lost to the English.

In November, 1372, the Black Prince formally surrendered the Principality of Aquitaine to Edward III, who appointed the Duke of Lancaster Duke of Aquitaine on June 12, 1373. By the end of 1373 only Bordeaux and Bayonne were left to the English.

The Black Prince died on June 8, 1376.

The coinage, therefore, of the Black Prince commences on July 19, 1362, and ceases in November, 1372. His gold coinage consists of a leopard, guiennois, écu or chaise, pavilion or royal (two types), demi-pavillon, hardi d'or, and noble; his silver coinage of a gros,

demi-gros, sterling, and hardi d'argent; and his billon coinage of a double, denier, and denier lion.

There are several documents extant relating to his coinage, the most important of which is an account by a certain Richard Filongleye, of the profits derived by the Black Prince from his gold and silver coinages, preserved in the Exchequer Rolls.² This document is particularly instructive, as it sets out the receipts of each province separately, year by year, and differentiates between the receipts from the gold coinage and those from the silver coinage. We can thus see at a glance the proportions of gold and silver minted in each province and the years in which the particular mints were most active.

I have thought it worth while to reproduce this document at length, as I believe that a careful study of it will prove of great assistance in considering the coinage of this period, especially as, so far as I know, this document has not previously been studied with special reference to the coinage.

The accounts are stated to be from July 19, 1362, the date from which the profits belonged to the Black Prince, to Michaelmas, 1370, with the exception of those years in which the treasurers had not rendered complete accounts. The amounts are stated in livres, sols, and deniers, on the standard of the denier guiennois noir, and are subsequently divided by five, in order to bring them to the standard of the denier guiennois esterling, one denier guiennois esterling being equivalent to five deniers guiennois noirs.

² This document is set out in full on p. 169 of M. Delpit's *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*.

EXTRACT FROM THE ACCOUNTS OF RICHARD FILONGLEYE, RELATING TO THE PROFITS
OF THE COINAGE IN AQUITAINE.

Gold Coinage.	Sales, including La Barbelle.	Bardeaux, Bordeaux, and Landes.	Tolosa and Limousin.	Agéna.	Quercy, Périgord, Terra Ducatus.	Igorre.
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	(No gold struck)	£ s. d.	(No gold struck)
1302	{ 1,055 6 7 }	18,862 0 1	{ 20,114 12 10 }		{ 109 0 11 }	
1303						
1304	{ 17,901 10 0 }	14,594 11 11	32,008 7 4		287 8 8	
1305		9,000 15 4			618 13 9	
1306	{ 3,229 18 10 }	7,057 17 7	{ 46,980 18 8 }		200 13 8	
1307					171 8 7	
1308	{ 1,941 16 0 }	{ 2,611 1 11 }	{ 51,468 10 0 }			
1309	No returns.	No returns.	No returns.		No returns.	
1310						
Total	£24,723 10 5	53,334 9 11	150,472 9 2		1,397 5 8	

The preceding table is extracted from the accounts, and shows sufficiently for our purpose the profits realized by the different mints. I have added a table of the coins struck by the Black Prince at his various mints, and a comparison of these two tables will, I think, prove instructive:—

TABLE OF COINS OF THE BLACK PRINCE.

	La Rochelle.	Bordeaux.	D'Ax.	Poitiers.	Limoges.	Agen.	Flageac.	Tarbes.	No mint.
GOLD.									
Leopard									x
Guineois		x							
Ecu, type 1		x			x				x
" " 2	x	x			x				
Pavilion—									
1st Issue, type 1		x							
" " 2	x	x		x	x				
2nd Issue " 1		x							
" " 2		x		x					
Demi-pavilion									x
Hardi " 1	x				x				x
" " 2	x	x			x				
Noble									x
SILVER.									
Gros		x				x		x	x
Demi-gros	x	x		x	x	x		x	x
Sterling	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Hardi	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
BILLON.									
Double	x			x			x		x
Denier	x	x		x	x				x
Denier Ron		x		x					

In the foregoing accounts, the receipts from the mint of La Rochelle are included in the accounts of Saintonge; the accounts of Bordeaux, Besados, and Landes would include the mints of Bordeaux and of D'Ax. I have not come across any coins of the Black Prince of the latter mint, but M. Caron, in the *Bulletin*

de Numismatique (see *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 289), has described a hoard of 618 coins of the Black Prince in the collection of M. le Comte de Chasteigner at Bordeaux, including coins bearing a mint letter composed of the monogram $\pi.\alpha$, which no doubt stands for D'Ax (Aquis). The joint accounts of Poitou and Limousin would include the mints of Poitiers and Limoges; those of Agenais, Agen; and those of Bigorre, Tarbes. This leaves the accounts of Quercy, Périgord, and Terre Ducatus, and the mint represented by the letter F, unaccounted for.

There have been two mints suggested for the letter F, namely, Fontenay and Figeac. The former town was situated in Poitou, the latter in Quercy. These accounts show that a coinage both of gold and silver was issued at some mint situated either in Quercy, Périgord, or Terre Ducatus, and, I think, prove conclusively that Figeac in Quercy is the mint represented by the letter F. In dealing with the coins of Edward III, I attributed a gold guiennois and a silver sterling bearing the mint-letter F to Fontenay, and gave my reasons; but I did not then know of Filongleye's accounts, and I think that there can be no doubt that in both cases the mint represented by the letter F is Figeac. It is true that no gold coins of the Black Prince are known with this mint-initial at present, but it will be seen from the accounts that the profits from the coinage of gold were very small, and therefore the issue of a gold coinage must have been limited. I hope that some day gold coins of the Black Prince bearing this mint-letter may be discovered. The receipts for the silver coinage, on the other hand, are considerable, and, as a matter of fact, the silver coins of the Black Prince bearing the mint-initial F are quite common.

There was another mint situated in Quercy, namely, the ecclesiastical mint of Cahors, and it is possible that there was also a Royal mint there. In the negotiations for handing over Aquitaine after the Treaty of Brétigny, the town of Cahors, before submitting, demanded the preservation of their rights of mintage, without prejudice to the right of the bishop, and the attribution of one-half of the revenues of the mint to the upkeep of the town. Later on, in 1364, we find the Black Prince remitting the penalties incurred at Cahors by infractions of certain ordinances relating to the mint. No coins, however, of the Black Prince bearing the mint-initial *c* have been found.

The town of Bergerac was situated in Périgord, and its receipts would therefore also be included in the accounts of these provinces, as the Black Prince took its revenues from 1362 to 1370, when he granted the town, with the right of mintage, to John of Gaunt.

It will be noticed that there are no receipts from the issue of a gold coinage from the provinces of Agenais and Bigorre, and, as a matter of fact, no gold coins have ever been attributed to Agen. The province of Bigorre is represented by the mint of Tarbes, and in the Webb Sale Catalogue an *écu* (lot 292), and a *pavilion* (lot 298) of the Black Prince are attributed to the mint of Tarbes. These two coins passed into the collection of Mr. O'Hagan, who very kindly submitted them to me for my inspection, and I have no hesitation in saying that the attribution in both cases is incorrect. On the *écu* the reverse legend is quite illegible after the word *FRANCIS*, and there is no trace of a *T*. On the *pavilion* the mint-letter is certainly an *R*. Both coins were sold at the dispersal of the O'Hagan Collection in December,

1907, and in the Sale Catalogue were again attributed to Tarbes.

Let us now examine the accounts more closely, and see what information can be drawn from them.

Taking the gold coinage first, we find that the years 1362 and 1363 show the smallest profits at the mints of La Rochelle, Poitiers, Limoges, and Figeac, while the year 1363 alone shows a larger profit for Bordeaux than any subsequent year. The reason for this is probably as follows:—The Black Prince, although he was created Prince of Aquitaine on July 19, 1362, and took the profits of the Principality from that date, did not actually arrive in Aquitaine till the following year. I think it is probable that from July 19, 1362, to July 9, 1363, the mints of Rochelle, Poitiers, Limoges, and Figeac continued to strike the last type of guiennois issued by Edward III, and that the Black Prince did not strike any money at those mints bearing his own name during that period; but that at Bordeaux he struck a leopard bearing his own name, of the same type as his father's, and probably the guiennois as well, which also only differs from the guiennois of the last issue of Edward III in the obverse legend. This view is further borne out by the fact that the guiennois of Edward III of the fourth issue of the mints of Rochelle, Poitiers, and Limoges, are fairly common, but no guiennois of that issue of the Bordeaux mint is known, and the guiennois of Bordeaux of the first and second issues are both very rare.

The écu, or chaise, was probably struck immediately after the arrival of the Black Prince at Bordeaux, in 1363. It occurs of the Bordeaux, Rochelle, and Limoges mints, and also without a mint-letter, but those of Bordeaux are far the most frequently met with. The écu of

Limoges is rare, and that of Rochelle is only known to me from two specimens described by Poey d'Avant in the Rousseau Collection.

After his return from his tour through the Principality, the Black Prince probably turned his attention to the coinage, with the result that a new gold coin, the pavilion or royal, was issued. The type is a new one for the Anglo-Gallic coinage, and there are two distinct issues, the first weighing about 85 grains, the second about 70 grains. The second, or light issue, may have been made in 1366, in consequence of the demands of the army for the Spanish expedition. The two issues are further distinguished by the first having a cinquefoil, and the second an α , in the centre of the cross on the reverse.

The pavilion occurs from all four mints, Bordeaux, Rochelle, Poitiers, and Limoges.

The demi-pavilion belongs to the first issue, and has a cinquefoil in the centre of the reverse.

The hardi was probably the last gold coin issued by the Black Prince, I should think about the year 1368, on his return from the Spanish expedition. The type is also a new one, and was continued by Richard II and Henry IV. It occurs with the mint-letters of Bordeaux, Rochelle, and Limoges.

The noble, which is unique, is of similar type to the English noble, and is probably only a pattern prepared at the Tower Mint in London, prior to the Black Prince's departure in 1363, and discarded by him in favour of a coin designed at the local mints.

Turning to the silver coinage, we have a regular issue of gros, demi-gros, and sterlings, all of similar type. The full weight of the gros appears to have been about 80 grains.

The gros is found with the mint-letters of Bordeaux, Agen, and Tarbes, and without mint-letter; the demi-gros from all the mints; and the sterling from all except Agen and Figeac. Probably further search will reveal sterlings from these two mints also, as there seems no reason to doubt that they were struck there.

The sterling appears to have been superseded in or about the year 1368, by a new silver coin, called a hardi. Its introduction is probably contemporaneous with that of the gold hardi. It is about the same weight as the sterling, and occurs from all the mints.

The billon coinage consists of a double, a denier, and a denier lion. The double occurs from the mints of Rochelle, Poitiers, and Figeac; the denier from those of Bordeaux, Rochelle, Poitiers, and Limoges; and the denier lion from those of Bordeaux and Poitiers. The sterling, or the petit guiennois esterling, as it was called, was equivalent to five deniers, or petits guiennois noirs.

The accounts of Filongleye include, besides the coinage receipts, "*la recepte foreyne des Constables de Bordeaux et Tresories d'Aquitaine.*" These include much interesting matter. One item is as follows:—

"From the burgesses of La Rochelle, a gift to the Prince in 6000 guiennois of gold, £1000 sterling guiennois."

From this we find that one guiennois = 3s. 4d.

Another item states that the franc of gold is equivalent to four sols (shillings) sterling guiennois; another that the mark of silver is equivalent to twenty-five sols sterling guiennois.

Several items are included in English sterling, and to this there is added a certain amount to make up the

difference in exchange. This varies between £1 0s. 6d. and £1 1s. 3d. sterling guiennois to £1 sterling English.

Another very interesting document relating to the Black Prince was published by M. Adrien Blanchet, in the *Revue Numismatique* for 1898. This is an account of the coins struck at the mint of Limoges, and the expenses of the mint, in the years 1365 and 1366.² It only relates to the silver and billon coinages, and it mentions three denominations—the demi-gros guiennois d'argent, the petit esterling guiennois d'argent, and the petit guiennois noir.

It will be noticed that no mention is made of the gros or the double, and it will be seen from the above table that no gros or double of Limoges is known. We may, therefore, assume that the gros and double were not struck at the Limoges mint.

The demi-gros was struck at the rate of 8 sous 4 deniers to the mark of Bordeaux; that is, 100 pieces to the mark. The mark of Bordeaux weighed, in 1316, 207 grammes or 3235 grains, which would give an average weight of 32.35 grains for the demi-gros. It will be found, however, that this weight is frequently exceeded, and therefore the weight of the mark of Bordeaux must have been slightly higher in 1365 than it was in 1316.

The demi-gros is stated to have been current for 10 deniers petits guiennois. The mint appears to have been very active, as no less than 2,569,000 demi-gros were issued in the two years.

The sterling is stated to have been current for 5

² This document is preserved in the Archives des Basses Pyrénées. E. 628.

deniers petits guiennois; and 2,066,000 were struck in 1365.

The petit guiennois noir was struck at the rate of 18 sous 9 deniers to the mark; that is, 225 pieces to the mark. This would give an average weight of 14.4 grains for the petit guiennois noir. It was current for 1 denier petit guiennois; and 62,541 pieces were struck in 1365.

There are one or two interesting minor points to be noted in this document. The Master of the Mint of Limoges was Martial Bize. The General Master of the Mints was Sir Raymond Gilbert. He apparently made a tour of the different mints, to inspect them from time to time, and his expenses were defrayed by the mints. There appear in these accounts several payments to him for the expenses of his visit to the mint, and also of his journeys from Limoges to Figeac. This mention of Figeac is additional evidence in favour of that being the mint of the Black Prince designated by the letter F.

There is one other document, or rather a series of documents, of which mention must be made. They are ordinances by the Duke of Lancaster, as deputy of the Black Prince, and are preserved in the archives of the Duchy of Lancaster.⁴ The first is dated May 3, 1371, and is addressed to the Seneschal of Poitou, Governor of the Isle of Oléron. It relates to the levy of a tax on each "tonneau" of wine of a "frank or guyones hardy." Two other documents dated in February, 1372, also allude to the same tax of "the frank or guyones hardy."

⁴ Archives du Duché de Lancastre: reg. du duc Jean., c.c. 12, fol. 50^{vo}. See M. Delpit's *Documents français*, p. 182.

The coin alluded to is evidently the hardi d'argent, which had by that time superseded the sterling.

I will now pass on to a description of the coins.

GOLD COINAGE.

Leopard.

Obv.—✠ $\alpha\theta$: P^{mo}: $\epsilon\eta$:S: R α ϵ SIS: ANGLIA: Pnd α PS: α CITANIA. Stops, small pierced quatrefoils, annulet after final α . Leopard crowned, passant guardant to l., within a tressure of ten arches, with quatrefoil at the angles and in all the spandrils except one, which has a star.

Rev.—✠ XP^a: VIN α IT: XP^a: R α ϵ GNAT: XP^a: IMP α RAT. Stops, quatrefoils; pellet after final T. Floriated cross, each limb ending in a trefoil, within an ornamented quatrefoil with open quatrefoils in the spandrils. Leopard passant guardant to l., in each angle of cross. Quatrefoil compartment in centre enclosing rosette. Beaded inner circle.

Wt. 53.5 grs.

British Museum.

Var. a.

As last, but reads $\epsilon\eta$ IS for $\epsilon\eta$ S, and pellet after final α on obverse.

Wt. 53.8 grs.

My Collection.

Var. b.

As type, but reads α CITANIA on obverse, and pellet after final α . Eleven arches in tressure.

[Pl. XI. 1.]

Cab. de Fr.

Another specimen, exactly similar to the last, occurs in the Bernard Roth Collection, and weighs 53 grains.

Guiennois,
Bordeaux.

Obv.— $\alpha\theta$ P $\epsilon\eta$:S R α ϵ SIS ANGLIA Pnd α PS α CITANIA. Full-length figure of the Prince in armour to r., wearing a wreath of roses over his helmet, beneath a Gothic portico. He carries a sword in his r. hand, a shield bearing the arms of France and England quarterly in his l.; two leopards couchant guardant at his feet, dividing the legend.

Rev.—✠ GLIΛIN AXQALQIS : DΘO : ET IN : TRJ : PAX :
 HOMINIBVS. Stops, quatrefoils. Cross fleury
 within a tressure of sixteen arches. Fleur-de-
 lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard passant guar-
 dant to l. in 2nd and 3rd angles. Quatrefoil
 compartment in centre, enclosing the letter α .

Wt. 56 grs. [Pl. XI. 2.]

British Museum.

This coin corresponds exactly with the guiennois of Edward III of the fourth issue, types 1 and 2, except that the mint-letter is here placed in the centre of the cross on the reverse. Poey d'Avant describes a specimen of this coin (No. 3068) from the B. Fillon Collection, which was found at Celle d'Evêcault. Another specimen is illustrated in the Sale Catalogue of the "Collection of an Astronomer" (Sotheby, 1906), Pl. i. 69.

Var. a.

Reading PNQPS on obverse.

O'Hagan Collection (Pl. vi. 660).

Var. b.

Reading PNQPS on obverse, and OMINIBVS on reverse.

Montagu Collection (Part IV. Pl. v. 343).

Écu, or Chaise.

Bordeaux.

Type 1. With leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ AD · PO · GNS · RQGIS · ANGLIA · PMS · XCITANIA
 Stops, rosettes. The Prince seated on a
 throne, wearing fillet of roses; sceptre in r.
 hand. The seat of the throne is ornamented
 with Gothic arches, one of which is visible on
 either side of the Prince.

Rev.—✠ DAVS · IVDAX · IVSTVS · FORTIS · Z · PΛQI-
 GNS · B. Stops, rosettes. Cross collarino,
 floriated, within ornamented quatrefoil with
 rosettes in spandrils; leopard in 1st and 4th
 angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles. Rosette
 in centre of cross. No inner circle.

Wt. 51·3 grs.

British Museum.

The legend on the reverse ("God is a righteous Judge, strong and patient") is from Ps. vii. 12.

Var. *a*.

Two arches visible on seat of the throne at either side of the Prince.

Murdoch Collection (Pl. xi. 379).

Another specimen of this variety is illustrated in the Sale Catalogue of the Henri Meyer Collection (Paris, 1902), Pl. xiv. lot 1555; and there is also a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Var. *b*.

Two arches as last; no stop before B on reverse.

Moon Collection (Pl. i. 58).

Type 2. With lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ ΕΘ' · ΡΟ' · ΘΝ'Σ · ΡΕΓΙΣ · ΑΝΓΛΙΑ · ΠΝ'Σ ·
ΑΕΙΤΑΝΙΑ. Stops, rosettes. Type as last.
Two arches on each side of Prince.

Rev.—✠ ΔΑΥΣ · ΙΥΘΑΧ · ΙΥΣΤΥΣ · ΦΟΤΙΣ · Ζ · ΡΑΔΙΑΝΣ · Β.
Stops, rosettes. Type as last.

Wt. 53·6 grs. [Pl. XI. 3.]

My Collection.

Another specimen of this type is illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue, Part IV. Pl. v. 344.

Var. *a*.

As last, but one arch only visible on either side of Prince.

Wt. 53·7 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

Mr. Carlyon Britton has a specimen of this variety in his Collection.

Var. *b*.

As type 2, but two arches to l., one to r., on obverse, and no stop before the final B on the reverse.

"Property of a Gentleman." (Sotheby, 1905.)

Var. *c*.

As var. *b*, but reads P'NS instead of PN'S on obverse, and has the stop before the B on the reverse.

Wt. 53·6 grs.

British Museum.

Limoges.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ AD · PO · GIT · RAG · ANGLIA · PNAPS · AQVITAE.
Stops, rosettes. Type as before. Two arches on each side of Prince.

Rev.—✠ DAVS · IVDAX · IVSTVS · FORTIS · Z · PADIANS · L.
Type as before. Leopard in 1st angle.

Tobin Bush Collection (lot 22).

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Legends and type as last, but two arches to r., one to l. on obverse, and lis in 1st angle on reverse.

Cab. de Fr.

Rochelle.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the two following coins, but does not state whether the leopard or the fleur-de-lis occupies the first angle on the reverse, nor does he illustrate either specimen:—

1. *Obv.*—✠ AD · PO · GNS · RAGIS · ANGLI · PMS · AQITA · R.
Stops, rosettes.

Rev.—✠ DAVS · IVDAX · IVSTVS · FORTIS · Z · PADIANS · R.
Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3039), from the Rousseau and B. Fillon Collections (found at Celle d'Evêcault).

2. As last, but obverse legend ends $\Lambda\Gamma\text{VIT}\Lambda\text{R}\cdot\text{R}$.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3040), from the Rousseau Collection.

Without mint-name.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following two specimens:—

1. *Obv.*— \ddagger $\Lambda\text{D}\cdot\text{PO}\cdot\text{ENS}\cdot\text{R}\text{Æ}\text{S}\text{IS}\cdot\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{LI}\cdot\text{P}\text{NS}\cdot\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{I}\text{Æ}$.
Stops, rosettes.

Rev.— \ddagger $\text{D}\text{Æ}\text{VS}\cdot\text{I}\text{V}\text{D}\text{Æ}\text{X}\cdot\text{I}\text{V}\text{S}\text{T}\text{VS}\cdot\text{F}\text{O}\text{R}\text{T}\text{IS}\cdot\text{Z}\cdot\text{P}\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}\text{Æ}\text{NS}$.
Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3073), from the Ledoux Collection.

2. As last, but reading $\Lambda\Gamma\text{VIT}\Lambda$ on obverse.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3075), from the Ledoux Collection.

Demi-chaise.

Poey d'Avant describes a demi-chaise of the Bordeaux mint, with lis in the first angle of reverse, on the authority of Duby. The obverse reading is stated to be \ddagger $\Lambda\text{D}\cdot\text{PO}\cdot\text{ENS}\cdot\text{R}\text{Æ}\text{S}\text{IS}\cdot\text{A}\text{N}\text{G}\text{LI}\text{Æ}\cdot\text{D}\text{NS}\cdot\text{A}\text{Q}\text{I}\text{T}\text{A}\text{N}\text{I}\text{Æ}$. If the coin exists, DNS must be a mistaken reading for PNS , but, as I have said before, Duby cannot be relied upon, and I hesitate to accept that coin on his authority alone. The coin is illustrated by Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxiv. 12) from Duby's illustration.

Pavilion.

This coin, sometimes also called the Royal, is divisible into two issues—a heavy issue, in which the average weight is 85 grains; and a light issue, in which the average weight is 70 grains. The two issues are further distinguishable by the heavy one having a cinquefoil

in the centre of the cross on the reverse, and the light one having an α. Unfortunately, many descriptions of coins by Poey d'Avant and others and in sale catalogues omit to set out either the weight or the distinguishing mark on the reverse, and it is therefore impossible to say to which issue the coins belong. I have only described the coins of which I have sufficient information to determine to which issue they should be ascribed.

First Issue.

Bordeaux.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD : PO : GNS : RAG ANGL : PRAPS : Λ. Stops, open quatrefoils. The Prince standing, facing, beneath a Gothic portico, wearing fillet of roses. Sword in r. hand, l. raised. Two leopards couchant at his feet. Two ostrich feathers at either side.

Rev.—✠ DNS : NIVTO : Z : PTACTO : MA : Z : IPO : SPXVI : QOR : MAVM : B : Stops, open quatrefoils. Cross quernée within ornamented quatrefoil with trefoils in spandrels. Leopard passant in 1st and 4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles. Cinquefoil in centre of cross.

Wt. 83 grs.

British Museum.

The motto on the reverse is "Dominus adjutor et protector meus et in ipso speravit cor meum" ("The Lord is my strength and my shield, and my heart hath trusted in Him"), and is taken from Ps. xxviii. 8.

Var. a.

Obv.—AD : PO : GNS : RAG ANGL : PRAPS : Λ. Stops and type as last.

Rev.—✠ DNS : NIVTO : Z : PTACTO : MA : Z : IPO : SPXVIT : QOR : MAVM : B : Stops and type as last.

Montagu Collection (Part IV. Pl. v. 333).

Var. *b*.

Obv.—As last.

Rev.—As last, but SPXVI instead of SPXVIT.

Murdoch Collection (lot 380).

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—GD : PO : GNS : RAG ANGL : PRPS : ACIT. Stops and type as before.

Rev.—✠ DNS : XIVTO : X : PTADVO : MA : X : IPO : SPXVIT : QOR : MAVM : B. Stops and type as before, but lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 83.5 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. i. 7).

Another specimen in the Ainslie Collection weighed 84 grains.

Limoges.

A pavilion of this mint occurred in the Moon Sale (lot 62), and is stated to be of the type of Ainslie, Pl. i. 7, i.e. with the cinquefoil in the centre of the reverse, but I had no opportunity of inspecting the coin. Another of this mint was in the Montagu Collection (lot 335), but I cannot say to which issue that piece belonged.

Poitiers.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—GD : PO : GNS : RAG ANGL : PRS : AQVI. Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ DNS : XIVTO : X : PTADVO : MA : X : IPO : SPXIT : QOR : MAVM : P. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as before. Fleur-de-lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 82.5 grs. [Pl. XI. 5.]

British Museum.

Var. *a*.

Obv.—AD : PO : ENS : RES : ANGLI : PNPS : KQVIT.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 82 grs. Bernard Roth Collection.

This coin is from the Richardson and Astronomer's Collection, and is illustrated in the Sale Catalogue of the latter (Pl. i. 68).

Rochelle.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD PO : SIT : RES ANG : PNPS KQVIT. Stops, open quatrefoils. Same type as before.

Rev.—✠ DNS : KIVTO : Z : PTQTO : MA : Z : IPO : SPKIT : QOR : MAVM R. Stops, quatrefoils. Same type as before. Fleur-de-lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 80·2 grs. [Pl. XI. 4.] My Collection.

Var. *a*.

As last, but two stops after AD on obverse, and after MAVM on reverse.

O'Hagan Collection (lot 659).

This coin is attributed, in the Sale Catalogues of the Webb and O'Hagan Collections, to the mint of Tarbes, but I have carefully examined it, and am confident that the mint-letter is not a T, but an R. The abbreviation SIT instead of the usual ENS, and the general resemblance to the coin last described, confirm this view.

Var. *b*.

As type 2, but reading ANGL on obverse, and stops, annulets, on reverse.

Wt. 82·2 grs. Bernard Roth Collection.

Var. c.

Obv.—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΕΝΣ : ΡΑΘ : ΑΝΕΛ : ΡΗΡΣ : ΑΔΥΙ.
Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ ΔΝΣ : ΑΙΥΤΟ : Ζ : ΡΤΑΔΤΟ : ΜΑ : Ζ : ΗΡΟ :
ΣΡΑΥΤ : ΔΟΡ : ΜΑΥΜ^α. Stops, quatrefoils.
Type as before.

"Collection of an Astronomer" (lot 67) (Sotheby's, 1906).

Var. d.

Type and legends as before, but on obverse the feathers on either side of the Prince are curved to the l. instead of to the r.

Stobart Collection (Christie's, 1903).

Second Issue.

Bordeaux.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—ΑΔ' : ΡΟ : ΕΝΣ : ΡΑΘ ΑΝΕΛ : ΡΗΡΣ : Α'. Stops, open quatrefoils. Prince standing facing, beneath Gothic portico as on pavilion of first issue.

Rev.—✠ ΔΝ'Σ : ΑΙΥΤΟ : Ζ : ΡΤΑΔΙΟ : ΜΑ : Ζ : ΗΡΟ :
ΣΡΑΥΤ : ΔΟΡ : ΜΑΥΜ : Β. Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as first issue, but Δ' in centre of reverse. Leopard in 1st angle.

Wt. 67·8 grs. British Museum.

Var. a.

Obv.—· ΑΔ' : ΡΟ : ΕΝ'Σ : ΡΑΘ : ΑΝΕΛ : ΡΗΡΣ : Α'. Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

O'Hagan Collection (Pl. vi. 658).

Var. b.

Obv.—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΕΝΣ : ΡΑΘ ΑΝΕΛ : ΡΗΡΣ : ΑΕΙ. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ ΔΝΣ : ΑΙΥΤΟ : Ζ : ΡΤΑΔΙΟ : ΜΑ : Ζ : ΗΡΟ :
ΣΡΑΥΤ : ΔΟΡ : ΜΑΥΜ : Β : Stops, quatrefoils.
Type as last.

Murdoch Collection (Pl. xi. 381).

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Legends and type as last, lis in 1st angle of reverse.

Wt. 69 grs. [Pl. XI. 6, *rev.*] British Museum.

A specimen of this coin occurred in the Kesteven Collection.

Limoges.

See my remarks under Limoges in the description of the pavilions of the first issue.

Poitiers.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—ED PO GNS RAI ANGL PRPS XQVI. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ DNS XIVO ꝥ PTATO ME ꝥ IPO SPXIT QOR
MAVM P. Type as last.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

This description is taken from M. Lecointre-Dupont's *Monnaies de Poitou* (p. 135). I have not seen the coin, and it is not stated what stops there are in the legends.

Rochelle.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—ED PO GNS RAI ANS DN2 XQVIT. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ DN2 : XIVO : ꝥ : PTATO : MA : ꝥ : IPO :
SPXIT : QOR : MAVM R. Stops, rosettes. Type
as last, lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 69 grs. [Pl. XI. 7, *rev.*] British Museum.

Var. a.

Obv.—ED : PO : GNS : RA : ANGL : PRPS : XQVI.
Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ DNS : XIVO : ꝥ : PTATO : MA : ꝥ : IPO :
SPXIT : QOR : MAVM : R. Stops, quatrefoils.
Type as last.

Cab. de Fr.

Var. *b*.

Obv.—AD : PO : ENS : RAI : ANEL : PRPS : AEI. Type as last.

Rev.—Legends and type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

Var. *c*.

Obv.—AD : PO : ENS : RAE ANEL : PRS : AQVIT.
Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as last.

Rev.—† DNS : NIVTO : ‡ : PTAATO : MA : ‡ : IPO :
SPAIT : AOR : MAVM V : ‡ : R. Stops, stars.
Type as last, but legend commencing at the bottom of the coin.

Inderwick Collection (lot 196).

Without mint-letter.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD PO : ENS RAE ANEL : PRS : AQVI. Stops, open quatrefoils. Type as last.

Rev.—† DNS : NIVTO : ‡ : PTAATO : MA : ‡ : IPO :
SPAIT : AOR MAVM. Stops, quatrefoils. Type as last.

Wt. 74.2 grs. [Pl. XI 8.]

British Museum.

Var. *a*.

Obv.—AD PO ENS RAE ANELI PRPS AQVI. Type as last.

Rev.—† DNS : NIVTO : ‡ : PTAATO : MA : ‡ : IPO :
SPAIT : AOR : MAVM. Type as last.

Wt. 74.2 grs. Bernard Roth Collection
(from Tobin Bush Collection, lot 20).

There was a pavilion, presumably of this type, in the Montagu Collection (lot 332), with the obverse legend reading AQVIT.

Demi-pavilion.

First Issue.

Without mint-letter.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—ED' ꝥ PO ꝥ ENS ꝥ RAGIS ꝥ ANGLA. Type as pavilion.

Rev.—✠ DNS ꝥ XINTO ꝥ ꝥ ꝥ PTADTO ꝥ MA ꝥ ꝥ ꝥ IPO ꝥ SPXVI ꝥ QOR. Type as pavilion. Cinquefoil in centre, Leopard in 1st angle of cross.

Wt. 42·7 grs. [Pl. XI. 9.]

Cab. de Fr.

M. Caron has described and illustrated another specimen of this rare little coin from the B. Fillon Collection, and the Musée de Niort, which corresponds exactly with the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

A variety, in the Lalanne Collection, has QO instead of QOR at the end of the reverse legend.

Hardi d'or.

Bordeaux.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ ED' PO' GN'S RAGIS ANGLIA PHS ACITANI. Stops, rosettes. Three-quarter bust of the Prince facing, wearing armour and mantle, sword in r. hand, l. hand raised and pointing to sword. Plain fillet in hair. All within a border of twelve arches.

Rev.—✠ AVXILIVM MAVM X DOMINO B: Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning and end of legend. Cross quernée within tressure of sixteen arches. Lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 61·6 grs.

British Museum.

The reverse motto "My help cometh from the Lord" is taken from Ps. cxxi. 2.

Var. a.

Obv.—Legend ending $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\alpha\eta\iota\alpha$.

Wt. 63·6 grs. Poey d'Avant (2940) from the Avril de Lavergnée Collection.

Var. b.

Obv.—Legend ending $\Lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta\iota\alpha$.

Cartwright Collection (Pl. i. 24).

Var. c.

Obv.—Legend ending $\Lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\eta$.

Bernard Roth Collection.

Var. d.

Obv.—Legend ending $\Lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha$.

Murdoch Collection (lot 382).

Limoges.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ $\Delta\Delta' \cdot \text{PO}' \cdot \text{GNS} \cdot \text{R}\acute{\text{E}}\text{GIS} \cdot \text{ANGLI}' \cdot \text{PNS}' \cdot \text{A}\epsilon\upsilon\iota$.

Stops, rosettes. Type as last. Prince wearing plain fillet in hair.

Rev.—✠ $\Delta\text{VXILIVM} \cdot \text{M}\acute{\text{A}}\text{VM} \cdot \text{A} \cdot \text{DOMINO} \cdot \text{L} :$ Stops, small rosettes; two pellets at beginning and end of legend. Type as last. Leopard in 1st angle.

Wt. 62 grs.

British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. x. 288.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ $\Delta\Delta \cdot \text{PO} \cdot \text{GNS} \cdot \text{R}\acute{\text{E}}\text{GIS} \cdot \text{ANGLI} \cdot \text{PNS} \cdot \text{A}\text{QVITA}$.

Stops, rosettes. Type as last, but Prince wearing fillet of roses.

Rev.—✠ $\Delta\text{VXLLIVM} \cdot \text{M}\acute{\text{A}}\text{VM} \cdot \text{A} \cdot \text{DOMINO} \cdot \text{L}$. Stops, rosettes. Type as last, but lis in 1st angle.

"Collection of an Astronomer" (Pl. i. 71).

Another specimen of this coin is illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Part IV. Pl. v. 339).

Var. *a*.

Obv.—✠ AD · PO · GIT · REGIS · ANGLI · PMS · AQL.
Stops, rosettes. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 61·7 grs. Bernard Roth Collection.

Poitiers.

Poey d'Avant describes a piece in silver, of the same type as the gold hardi, on the authority of Duby (Pl. 35, 4). If accurate, it must be a pattern in silver of the gold hardi.

Rochelle.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ AD · PO · GNS · REGIS · ANGLI · PMS · AQLITL.
Stops, rosettes. Type as before. Prince wearing fillet of roses.

Rev.—✠ AVXLLIVM · MAVM · I · DOMINO · R. Stops, rosettes. Type as before. Lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 61·7 grs. British Museum.

Var. *a*.

As last, but obverse legend ending AQLITL.

H. Meyer Collection (Pl. xiv. 1557).

Var. *b*.

As last, but obverse legend ending AQLIT.

Wt. 60·2 grs. [Pl. XII. 1.] My Collection.

Var. *c*.

As last, but plain fillet in hair.

Bernard Roth Collection.

Noble.

Obv.—✠ EDVWARD^s PO^s GNS^s RGE^s ANGL^s PMS^s
ACITANIA. Prince standing, facing, in ship,
as on English nobles.

Rev.—✠ IHA^s AVTAM^s TRANSIANS^s PAR^s MADIV^s
ILLORVM^s IBAT. Type same as English
nobles. A in centre.

Poeey d'Avant (Pl. lxiv. 15); from the
Avril de Lavergnée Collection at Niort.

This coin, which is unique, was probably struck at the
Tower mint at London, possibly as a pattern, prior to the
Black Prince's departure to take up his duties in Aquitaine.
Poeey d'Avant states that he has himself carefully
examined the coin, and has no doubt whatever as to its
authenticity.

SILVER COINAGE.

Gros.

Agen.

Obv.—✠ EDVVARDVS : PRIMO : GNS : REGIS A.
Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Half-length
figure of the Prince to r., wearing
fillet of roses. Sword in r. hand, l. raised
The whole within a tressure of nine arches.

Rev.—PRIN : AEPS : ACIT : ANIA : GLIX IN A : X
AELAIS : DEO : ET IN : TRA : PXX : in two
concentric circles. Stops, annulets enclosing
pellets. Long cross pattée, extending to
edge of coin; three pellets in each angle.
Beaded inner circle.

Wt. 67·5 grs. [Pl. XII. 2.]

British Museum.

General Ainslie describes a specimen (Pl. iv. 38),
exactly similar, weighing 61·75 grains.

Bordeaux.

Obv.—✠AD : PO : GNS : RAGIS : ANGLIA : PRI : B.
Stops, annulets. Type as last. Eight arches
in tressure.

Rev.—PRIN | AEPS | ACIT | ANIA | . GLIA : IN A | X
ALQIS | DO AT IN | TRA : PAX | Stops,
annulets. Type as last.

Wt. 69.75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. vii. 96).

This is the only type of gros that does not bear the name of the Prince in full. General Ainslie considered that, from its perfect roundness and unusual care in its details, it was probably a pattern.

Tarbes.

Obv.—✠ADVARDVS : PRIMO : GNS : RAGIS T. Stops,
annulets. Type as last. Eight arches in
tressure.

Rev.—PRIN | AEPS | ACIT | ANIA | . GLIA IN A | X
ALQIS | DAO : AT N | TRA : PAX | . Stops,
annulets. Type as last.

Wt. 70.1 grs. [Pl. XII. 3, *obv.*]

British Museum.

General Ainslie describes a specimen (Pl. iv. 39) exactly similar.

Poey d'Avant thought that General Ainslie had misread the T for N, and that the coin described by him was in reality a gros of Agen, but Ainslie states that the lettering on the gros of Agen is far finer, and that the coin is of better workmanship than that of Tarbes. On the coin in the British Museum the T is quite distinct.

Poey d'Avant describes a specimen (Pl. lxiv. 17), Norblin and Avril de Lavernée Collections, weighing 67.2 grains, which he classes as without a mint-letter;

but the illustration corresponds exactly with the coin described above.

Without mint-name.

1. *Obv.*—✠ EDVYARDVS ꝥ PRIMO ꝥ GNS ꝥ RÆGIS. Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last. Eight arches in tressure.

Rev.—PRIN | ÆPS | ÆCIT | ANNA | . GLIX ꝥ IN Æ | X
 ÆÆLÆIS | DÆO ꝥ AT IN | TRA ꝥ PAX | Stops,
 annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last.

Wt. 59 grs. [Pl. XII. 4, *obv.*]

Walters Collection.

2. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Inner legend as last. Outer legend ending
 Æ IN | TRA ꝥ PAX | .

Walters Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ EDVYARDVS ꝥ PRIMO ꝥ GENITYS ꝥ RÆG.
 Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—Inner legend as last. Outer legend, GLIX ꝥ IN
 Æ | XÆLÆIS ꝥ | DÆO ꝥ AT IN | TRA ꝥ PAX |
 Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

Demi-gros.

Agén.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' ꝥ PO ꝥ GNS ꝥ RÆGIS ꝥ ANGLIA : A.
 Stops, annulets enclosing pellets; two pellets
 at beginning of legend and before mint-letter.
 Half-length figure to r., as on the gros, within
 a tressure of seven arches.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | ÆCI | TAN | . GLIX ꝥ IN | XÆLÆIS
 | DÆO ꝥ Æ IN | TRA ꝥ PA | Stops, annulets
 enclosing pellets; two pellets before PRNAPS.
 Type as gros.

Wt. 31·6 grs.

British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook*, Pl. x. 291.

2. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Inner legend as last. Outer legend, GLR · IN
E | XQALCIS | DO . . . PAX | Stops, pellets.
Type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

Bayonne (†).

1. *Obv.*—✠ · ED · PO · GNS · REGIS · NGLIA · b
Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—· PRN | QPS | LQI | TAN | · GLIA IN d | X
QALCIS | DO · ET · IN | TRA · PAX | Stops,
annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last.

Wt. 30·7 grs.

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but legend ending NGLIA b

Rev.—As last, but stops pellets, and no stops before
PRNQPS.

Wt. 30·4 grs. [Pl. XII 5.]

British Museum.

The lettering on this coin is very fine.

I have assigned these two coins to Bayonne in preference to Bordeaux, mainly on account of the peculiar formation of the mint-initial. There must be some reason why the usual form of B was not used, and the most obvious solution seems to be that it was intended to signify some mint other than Bordeaux, and this form of letter was adopted to distinguish the coins from those of the Bordeaux mint. The whole style of the coins is quite different from those of the Bordeaux mint, the bust of the Prince in particular being treated in an entirely different manner, as a glance at the illustrations will show. General Ainslie states that the Black Prince had a mint at Bayonne, and that mint is mentioned in the grant by Edward III to John of Gaunt, dated June 12,

1377, empowering him to strike money for a period of two years in Bayonne, Guiche, and the Landes.

Bordeaux.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGELIA : B :
Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as before. Six arches in tressure.

Rev.—: PRN | APS | RCI | TAN |. GLIA : IN | XQAL
DIS | DAO : A IN | TAN : PA | Stops, annulets enclosing pellets; two annulets before PRNAPS.

Wt. 29 grs. [Pl. XII. 6.]

My Collection.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS : REG : ANGELIA : PS : B.
Stops, annulets enclosing pellets; two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as last. Five arches in tressure.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 28.8 grs. (clipped). My Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGELIA B. Type as before.

Rev.—: PRNAPS RCITAN. Outer legend and type as No. 1.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2945), from the Avril de Lavergnée Collection and the Musée de Bordeaux.

4. *Obv.*—✠ ED · PO · CIT · REGIS · ANGELIA · B. Stops, rosettes.

Rev.—PRNAPS RCITAN.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2942).

This coin is described on the authority of Poey d'Avant, and differs materially from the usual type. The abbreviations CIT and PRNAPS, and the rosette stops, are usual on the coins of Limoges, but not on those of Bordeaux. Compare the sterling of Bordeaux, No. 2.

Figeac.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : RAGIS : ANGLIA R. Stops, annulets enclosing pellets; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before, but the figure of the Prince is much smaller and thinner than on the coins of Bordeaux. Six arches in tressure.

Rev.—PRR | APS | RQI | TAN | . GLI . IN . A | X
GELQIS | D'O . AT . IN | TRR . PAX | Stops,
pellets. Type as before.

Wt. 27·7 grs. [PL XII. 7.]

My Collection.

2. Similar to last, but six arches in tressure on obverse.

Wt. 27 grs.

My Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : RAG : ANGLIA : R
Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2958), from the Boileau Collection.

4. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : RAG : ANGLIA : PS : R
Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2956), from the B. Fillon Collection.

Compare the demi-gros of Bordeaux, No. 2.

Limoges.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : RAGIS : ANGLIA . L.
Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before. Bust with large head touching tressure.

Rev.—PRI | APS | RQV | TAN | GLI IN A | XLIS DO |
AT IN TA | RA PAX | Type as before.

Wt. 33·5 grs. [PL XII. 8.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ · ED PO GIT · RÆGIS · ANGLIÆ · L. Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 32·4 grs.

British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' · PO : GENIT · RÆG · ANGLIÆ · L. Stops, pellets. Type as last. Eight arches in treasure.

Rev.—· PRI | APS | AQV | TAE | · GLIÆ · I · A | XEL DO |
ET · IN · TÆ | RÆ · PAX | Stops, pellets.
Type as last.

Wt. 34·2 grs.

My Collection.

4. *Obv.*—✠ ED · PO · GNS · RÆGIS · ANGLIÆ · L. Stops, rosettes. Type as last. Seven arches in treasure.

Rev.—PRI | APS | AQI | TAN | · GLIÆ · I · A | XEL DO |
ET · IN · TÆ | RÆ · PAX | Stops, pellets.
Type as last.

Wt. 33·5 grs.

Walters Collection.

5. Similar to No. 4, but ten arches in treasure on obverse.

Wt. 30·2 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. iv. 43).

6. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : RÆGIS : ANGLIÆ · L. Stops, rosettes; two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as last.

Rev.—PRI | APS | AQI | TAN | · : GLIÆ · I · A | XEL DO |
ET IN TÆ | RÆ · PAX | Stops, pellets; two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as last.

Cab. de Fr.

7. As last, but omitting stops before L on obverse and on either side of first I in outer legend on reverse.

Bernard Roth Collection.

8. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GENITY : REGI : ANGLIA : L. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 35.7 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. iv. 42).

Poitiers.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGLIA : P. Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before. Smaller bust not touching the treasure, which has seven arches.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | . GLA . IN A | XLA . DA | AT IN TA | RA . PAX | Stops, pellets. Type as before.

Wt. 32 grs.

My Collection.

2. *Obv.*—As last; no stops at beginning of legend.

Rev.—Inner legend as last. Outer legend . . . | XLA . DA | AT IN T | RA . PAX | Type as last.

Walters Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGLIA : P. Stops, annulets. Type as last; eight arches in treasure.

Rev.—PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | . GLA . IN A | XLS . DA | AT IN . TA | RA . PAX | Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Wt. 34.6 grs. [Pl. XII. 9.]

My Collection.

4. As last, but annulet in centre of the letters S on the obverse.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2989), from the B. Fillon and Avril de Lavergnée Collections.

5. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO GENITY REGI ANGLE P. Two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | . GA IN AX | ALAI . DA | O AT IN T | RA . PAX | Two annulets at beginning of inner legend. Type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

6. As last, but without the annulets on obverse and reverse.

Messrs. Spink & Son.

7. As No. 5, but without the annulets, and reading $\Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}$ on obverse, and $\text{KO}\text{-}\text{IT}\text{AN}$ on reverse.

Wt. 34 grs.

British Museum.

8. As No. 6, but reading $\Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}$ on obverse.

Wt. 33.75 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

9. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\text{N}\text{Q}\text{PS}\ \Lambda\text{Q}\text{V}\text{T}\text{A}\text{C}$.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2992), from the Rousseau Collection.

10. As No. 6, but stops, two annulets between the words on the obverse, and reading $\text{PR}\text{N}\text{Q}\text{S}$ on the reverse.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2990).

11. *Obv.*— $\text{✠}\ \text{QD} \text{ : } \text{PRIO} \text{ : } \text{GNS} \text{ : } \text{R}\text{E}\text{G}\text{IS} \text{ : } \Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{E}\text{I}\text{C} \text{ : } \text{P}$.
Stops, annulets. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2987).

12. *Obv.*— $\text{✠}\ \text{QD} \text{ : } \text{PO} \text{ : } \text{GIT} \text{ : } \text{R}\text{E}\text{G}\text{IS} \text{ : } \Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{E}\text{I}\text{C}\ \text{P}$. Stops, annulets. Type as last.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\text{N}\text{Q}\text{S}\ \Lambda\text{Q}\text{V}\text{T}\text{A}\text{C}$. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2985).

13. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\text{I}\text{Q}\text{PS}\ \Lambda\text{Q}\text{V}\text{T}\text{A}\text{C}$. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2986), from the Norblin Collection.

It will be noticed that Poey d'Avant never gives the outer legend on the reverse. I have not seen any of the coins described by him, and take the legends from the letter-press of his *Monnaies Féodales de France*.

Rochelle.

The demi-gros of this mint may be divided into two distinct types, one having the mint-initial in the usual place at the end of the obverse legend, the other with the mint-initial at the end of the outer legend on the reverse.

Type 1. R on obverse.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : REGIS : ANGLIA : R.
Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Rev.—: PRN | QPS | AQ | TAN | . GLX IN A | XLQ .
DA | AT IN TA | RA . PAX. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Wt. 34.2 gra. [Pl. XII. 10.]

British Museum.

Another specimen in the British Museum weighs 33.8 grains.

2. As last, but G's in place of A's in outer legend of reverse.

Bernard Roth Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GIT : REGIS : ANGLIA : R. Stops, rosettes. Type as last.

Rev.—PRN | QPS | AQV | TAQ | . : GLX . IN A | XLQ .
DA | AT . IN TA | RA . PAX | Stops, pellets;
two annulets at the beginning of outer legend. Type as last.

Wt. 32.3 gra.

Walters Collection.

4. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : REGIS : ANGLIA : R.
Stops, annulets. Type as last.

Rev.—PRI | QPS | AQV | TAQ | Type as last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3041).

Type 2. R on reverse.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED . PO . GENIT . REGIS . ANGLIE. Stops, pellets. Type as before.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | ΛQV | TΛE | . GLX . IN . E | XLIS
DO | ET . IN . TR | Λ . PAX . R | Stops,
pellets; two annulets before PRNAPS. Type
as before.

Inderwick Collection.

2. As last, but without the stops before PRNAPS.

Wt. 32.75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. iv. 41).

3. *Obv.*— ✠ ED : PMO : GENITVS . REG . ANGLIE. Stops,
pellets. Type as last. Bust, with very
large head, touching tressure, of which five
arches are visible.

Rev.— PRN | APS | ΛQV | TΛE | . GLX . IN . E | XLIS .
DO | ET . IN . TR | Λ . PAX . R | Stops,
pellets. Type as last.

Wt. 34.1 grs. [Pl. XII. 11.]

My Collection.

4. *Obv.*— ✠ EDWARD PMO GIT REGIS ANGLIA. Type
as last.

Rev.— As last.

Wt. 34 grs.

British Museum.

Mr. Walters has a specimen of this type, weighing
31.1 grains.

Tarbes.

1. *Obv.*— ✠ ED : PRIO : GNS : REGIS : ANGLI T. Stops,
annulets. Type as last.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | ΛEI | TΛN | . GLIX : IN X | . . .
D | EO : ET IN | TRΛ : PAX | Stops, annu-
lets. Type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

2. *Obv.*— ✠ ED : PO : GNS : REG : PS T. Stops, annu-
lets. Type as last.

Rev.— : PRNDS ΛQITAN. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3060).

3. *Obv.*—Legend ends PHS T. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3061), from the Jarry Collection.

Without mint-name.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO' GERNITV RAGI ANGLI. Type as before. Prince wearing crown instead of fillet of roses.

Rev.—PRI | CPS | XOI | TAN | . GLIA IN A | XALQ .
DO | ET IN TA | RRA PAX | Type as before.

Wt. 31.9 grs. [Pl. XII. 12.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' PO' GERNITV RAGI ANGLA. Type as before. Prince wearing fillet of roses.

Rev.—: PRN | APS | XOI | TAN | . GA IN AX | ALAI
DA | O ET IN T | RA PAX | Type as before

Wt. 34.9 grs.

British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—As last, but reading ANGLIA.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 29 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

4. *Obv.*—As last, but reading ANGLIA.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3083).

5. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO GERNITV RAGI . ANGLIA . Stops pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—: PRN | APS | XOI | TAN . Outer legend as No. 2.
Type as last.

Wt. 34 grs.

British Museum.

6. *Obv.*—As last, but no stops; two annulets at beginning of legend.

Rev.—As last, but two annulets before PRNAPS.

Wt. 29.5 grs.

Walters Collection.

7. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO GANT RAGIS ANGLIA. Type as before.

Rev.—PRINQPS KONTKA. Type as before.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3081), from the Voillemier Collection.

8. *Obv.*—As last, but RAGS instead of RAGIS.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3079), from the Rousseau Collection.

9. *Obv.*—✠ ED ∴ PO ∴ GNS ∴ RAG ∴ ANGLIA ∴ PRINQPS. Stops, annulets (?). Type as before. The bust of the Prince is much smaller and thinner than usual.

Rev.—PRN | QPS | KCI | TKN | . GLIA ∴ in | XGGLAIS | DEO ∴ & in | TRX ∴ PX | Type as before.

Wt. 31 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. vii. 97).

10. *Obv.*—✠ ED' ∴ PO ∴ LIA ∴ PRINQPS. Stops, annulets enclosing pellets. Type as last. Thin bust.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 30.6 grs.

British Museum.

11. *Obv.*—As last, but legend beginning and ending with two annulets enclosing pellets. Very small bust.

Rev.—As last, two pellets before PRINQPS. Stops, annulets enclosing pellets in outer legend.

Wt. 41.8 grs.

British Museum.

Sterling.

Bordeaux.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ∴ ED' ∴ PO ∴ GNS ∴ RAGIS ∴ B. Stops, annulets enclosing pellets; two annulets at beginning of legend. Half-length bust of Prince to r. as on demi-gros, within a plain inner circle.

Rev.—PRN | QPS | KCI | TKN | Type as demi-gros. No outer legend.

Wt. 19.4 grs. [Pl. XIII 1, *obv.*]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : SIT : REG : ANGL : B. Type as last.

Rev.—PRIDPS : ANVTΛΘ. Type as last.

Wt. 14·5 grs. Ainslie Collection.

Compare the demi-gros, No. 4.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : SNS : REGIS : B. Stops, annulets. Type as before.

Rev.—: PRN | DPS | AN | TAN |. Type as last.

Wt. 18·75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 45).

Note the peculiar mint-letter formed of the monogram AB, and the form of the Rs. I think it is very probable that this coin should be assigned to some other mint than Bordeaux, and should have been inclined to suggest Bayonne, but for the demi-gros with the mint-letter b. It is possible that the reading of the mint-letter has been mistaken for the monogram AN, in which case the coins should be attributed to D'Ax; but Poey d'Avant describes two specimens, one (No. 2946, Pl. lxxv. 8) from his own collection, and the other (No. 2947) from the Rondier Collection, and also reads the mint-letter as AB. In the letterpress, Poey d'Avant gives the reverse legend on his coin as PR. DPS ANITAN, but the plate agrees with the coin described.

Limoges.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : SIT : REGIS : ANGL L. Stops, rosettes; two annulets enclosing pellets before and after ED. Type as before.

Rev.—PR | DPS | AN | TAN | Type as before.

Wt. 15 grs.

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' PO GIT REG ΛG : L. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2972), from the Bonsergent Collection.

Ainslie describes a specimen with similar legends, weighing 18·25 grains.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' PO GIT REG ΛNG L. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2973), from the Voilemier and Avril de Lavernée Collections.

4. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : REG : ΛNG : L. Stops, rosettes; two annulets before and after ED. Type as before.

Rev.—: PRI | APS | ΛQI | TΛN | Two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Bernard Roth Collection.

5. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GT : REGI : ΛNG : L. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 16·25 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

6. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—: PRN | APS | ΛQV | TΛA | Type as before.

Wt. 18 grs. [Pl. XIII. 2.]

British Museum.

Poitiers.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED . PO . GIT . REG . ΛNGL^p. Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Rev.—PRI | APS | ΛQV | TΔE | Type as before.

Wt. 18·3 grs. [Pl. XIII. 3.]

My Collection.

Ainslie describes a specimen with these readings, weighing 15·25 grains.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but two annulets at beginning of legend.

Rev.—As last, but two annulets at beginning of legend.

Wt. 16 grs.

British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Lambda\text{QVT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2993).

4. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Lambda\text{QVT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as last.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection (see his *Monnaies de Poitou*, p. 136).

5. *Obv.*—As No. 1.

Rev.— $\circ \text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Delta\text{QIT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2998), from the Soive Collection.

6. *Obv.*— $\text{✠} \alpha\text{D PO } \alpha\alpha\alpha \text{ R}\alpha\alpha \text{ } \Lambda\alpha\alpha \text{ P.}$ Type as before.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Lambda\text{QVT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as before.

Lecointre-Dupont (p. 136), from the de Saulcy Collection.

7. *Obv.*— $\text{✠} \circ \alpha\text{D PO } \alpha\alpha\alpha\text{ITV } \text{R}\alpha\alpha\text{I P.}$ Type as before.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Lambda\text{QVT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as before.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2999), from the Rondier Collection.

8. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.— $\text{PR}\alpha\text{PS } \Lambda\text{QIT}\Lambda\alpha$. Type as before.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection (p. 136).

The sterling illustrated in Ainslie (Pl. v. 48) and Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 9) is really a coin of Rochelle (see Ainslie, p. 102).

Rochelle.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO GIT RAG ANGL R. Type as before.

Rev.—PRI | APS | ANV | TAA | Type as before.

Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. XIII. 4, *obv.*]
Walters Collection.

2. As last, but no annulets at beginning of legend, and rosette before R on obverse.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3046), from the Rondier Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : RAG : ANGL R. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3045).

4. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO GN . RAG . ANGL . R. Type as before.

Rev.— . PRI | APS | ANV | TAA | Type as before.

Wt. 15.25 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 48).

The reading GN on the obverse is probably a mistake of the engraver for GIT. The Roman N never occurs on these coins.

Tarbes.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED' : PRIO : GNS : RAGIS : T. Type as before.

Rev.— : PRN | APS | ANI | TAA | Type as before.

Wt. 11.5 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 49).

2. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GNS : RAGIS : T. Type as before.

Rev.—As last, but no stops at beginning of legend.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3063).

Without mint-letter.

1. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO : GNS · RAGI ANGLI. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.— · PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | Type as before.
Wt. 17·3 grs. My Collection.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO GS RAGGI ANGLI. Type as before.

Rev.—PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | Type as before.
Messrs. Spink & Son.

3. *Obv.*—✠ : ED PO GANITV : RAGI. Type as before.

Rev.— : PRNAPS AQITAN. Type as before.
Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3086).

4. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GANITV RAGI. Type as before.
Star of five points in field behind Prince's head.

Rev.—As last.
Wt. 15·25 grs.
Ainslie Collection (Pl. vii. 98).

5. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GANITV : RAGI : . Type as before.

Rev.—PRIAPS AQVTAA. Type as before.
Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3089).

6. *Obv.*—✠ : ED : PO : GIT : RAG ANGL. Type as before.

Rev.—PRNAPS AQITAN. Type as before.
Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3085).

7. *Obv.*—✠ : ED · PO · GIT · RAG · AGL. Stops, rosettes ;
two annulets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Rev.—PRNAPS AQITAN. Type as before.
Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3088).

Mr. Walters possesses a curious sterling, evidently

struck from an altered die of Edward III. It is as follows:—

8. *Obv.*—✠ EDWNR PO GRS T, altered from EDWNR DÆ GRN. Crown changed to chaplet of roses.

Rev.—ED' P | O GN | REGI | AGLA |

Wt. 17 grs. [Pl. XIII. 5.]

Walters Collection.

Hardi d'argent.

The coins of this denomination fall into two types—one with the leopard, and the other with the fleur-de-lis in the first angle of the reverse. Unfortunately, Ainslie, Poey d'Avant, and Lecoindre-Dupont, in describing various readings on these coins, do not state to which type they belong, and I have therefore been unable to classify them except in cases where they are illustrated.

Agen.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD : PO : GRS | REG : AGL · A. Stops, pellets. Half-length figure of the Prince facing, wearing fillet in hair, under a Gothic canopy; sword in r. hand, l. raised. The whole within a beaded inner circle, which is cut at the top by the canopy and at the bottom by the figure of the Prince; these also divide the legend. The canopy is trefoil-headed with rosette at either base.

Rev.— · PRN | APS · | AQIT | ANIA | Stops, rosettes. Long cross pattée extending to edge of coin; leopard in 1st and 4th angles; lis in 2nd and 3rd angles. No inner circle.

Wt. 18 grs. [Pl. XIII. 6.]

My Collection.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΘΝΣ : ΡΑΘ : ΑΘΛΑ Α. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.—As last, but lis in 1st and 4th angles, and leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 15.9 grs.

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—As last, but reading ΑΘΙΤΑΝΙΑ.

Wt. 17.1 grs. British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—As last, but reading ΡΑΘΙΣ ΑΘΛΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Ainslie, *Suppl.*, Pl. i. 17, from the Cuff Collection.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties:—

1. *Obv.*— : ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΘΝ : ΡΑΘ : ΑΘΛ : Α.

Rev.— . ΡΡΩΨΣ . ΑΘΙΤΑΝΙΑ. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2922).
Probably type 1.

2. *Obv.*—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΘΝ : ΡΑΘ : ΑΝΘΛ Α.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2923).
Probably type 2.

3. As last, but obverse legend ends ΑΘΛΙ : Α.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2924), from the Voilemier Collection.

4. *Obv.*—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΘΤ ΡΑΘ ΑΘΛΑ : Α.

Rev.—ΡΡΙΩΨΣ . ΑΘΙΤΑΝΙΑ.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2926), from the Avril de Lavergnée Collection.

Bordeaux.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*— $\alpha\Delta$: PO Θ NS | R Θ : Λ GL α B. Stops, pellets.
Type as before. Trefoil-headed canopy.

Rev.— · PRN | α PS · | Λ QIT | Λ N α | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before. Lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 18·5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 8.]

My Collection.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but reading Λ GL α .

Rev.—As last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

3. *Obv.*— $\alpha\Delta$: PO Θ NS R Θ : Λ GL : B. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

The legends on these coins correspond with those in the Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 44), which weighed 16·5 grains.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties :—

1. *Obv.*—As Type 2, No. 1.

Rev.—PRID α PS · Λ QIT Λ N α . Stop, rosette.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2951).

2. As Type 2, No. 2, but R α instead of R Θ on obverse.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2952).

Figeac.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*— $\alpha\Delta$ PO Θ NS | R Θ Λ GL F. Type as before.
Canopy as on coins of Agen.

Rev.— · PRN | α PS | Λ QIT | Λ N α | Stop, rosette.
Type as before. Lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 16·4 grs. [Pl. XIII. 9.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—AD PO GEN REGI AG F. Type as last. Canopy, pointed arch only.

Rev.—PRN | APS | AGI | TAN | Type as last.

Wt. 16·4 gra. British Museum.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following variety :—

Obv.—AD PO G . . . REG ANGLIA F. Type as before.

Rev.— · PRINAPS · AGITANIA. Stops, rosettes.
Type as before.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2962).

Limoges.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD PO GNS | REG AGA L. Type as before.
Canopy, rounded arch with rosette ends.

Rev.— · PRN | APS · | AGT | ANA | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before. Leopard in 1st angle.

Wt. 17·5 gra. [Pl. XIII. 10.]

My Collection.

This reverse reading appears to be invariable on the hardis of Limoges.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—AD : PO : GT : R | AG AGLA L. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.— · PRI | APS · | AGT | ANA | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before. Lis in 1st angle.

Bernard Roth Collection.

2. *Obv.*—AD PO GT | REG AGA L. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 15·25 gra.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 47).

This variety has been described and illustrated by

Poey d'Avant from a specimen in his own collection. The illustration shows the Prince wearing a crown, which must be a blunder of the engraver's for the usual canopy.

3. *Obv.*—ΑΔ Ρ ΓΙΤ Ρ | ΑΓΙ ΑΓΑ Ρ. Type as last.

Rev.—As last, but no stop after ΠΙΩΡΣ.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 15), from the Rousseau Collection.

The illustration in this case also shows the Prince wearing a small crown, beneath the usual canopy.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties :—

1. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΙΤ ΡΑΓ ΑΓΛΑ Λ.

Rev.— . ΠΙΩΡΣ . ΑΩΤΑΝΑ. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2976).

The reverse legend is the same in all the following :—

2. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΙΤ ΡΑΓΙ ΑΓ Λ.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2977).

3. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΙΤ ΡΑΓΙ Α Λ.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2975).

4. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΤ ΡΑΓΙ ΑΓΑ Λ.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2979).

5. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΤ ΡΑΓ ΑΓΛ Λ.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2981).

6. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΩ ΓΝΣ ΡΑΓ ΑΓΛΑ Λ.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 2980).
Probably type 1.

Poitiers.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—ED PO GEN | REGI REG. Type as before.
Canopy, pointed arch with annulet ends.

Rev.—PRN | APS | PQP | TPN | Type as before ; the
cross very broad, and lettering large. Lis in
1st angle.

Wt. 16.6 grs. [Pl. XIII. 11.]
British Museum.

2. As last, but no canopy.

Cab. de Fr.

3. *Obv.*—ED PO ENT | REGI REG. Type as last. No
canopy.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 13.75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 46).

4. *Obv.*—ED PO EN | REGI REG. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (Pl. lxxv. 17).

5. *Obv.*—ED PO ENT | REGI REG. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 18 grs.

My Collection.

Another specimen in my collection weighs 16.3 grs.

6. *Obv.*—ED PO ET R | EG REG P. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Lecointre-Dupont, from the De la Fontenelle Collection.

This coin is illustrated in Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxxv. 18).

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant and Lecointre-Dupont give the following varieties :—

1. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΝΘΙΑ.

Rev.—As before.

Lecointre-Dupont, from the de Saulcy Collection.

2. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝΙΤ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3009).

3. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝΣ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3006).

4. *Obv.*—ΑΔ Ρ ΘΑΝΤ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3010).

5. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

6. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝΤ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

7. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Lecointre-Dupont, from the Cabinet of the Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest.

8. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΑΝ ΡΑΘΙ ΑΘΙΑ.

Rev.—ΡΡΝΑΡΣ ΑΩΡΙΑΑΝ.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

9. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΓΤ ΡΑΘ ΑΘΑ Ρ.

Rev.— . ΡΡΙΑΡΣ . ΑΩΙΤΑΑΝ. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3020), from the Ron-dier Collection.

Rochelle.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—AD : PO : GNS | RAG : AGLIA. Stops, pellets.
Type as before. Trefoil-headed canopy.

Rev.— . PRN | APS . R | AQIT | ANIA | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before. Lis in 1st angle.

Wt. 18.4 grs. British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—AD PO : GNS R | AGI AGLIA. Stops, pellets.
Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

3. *Obv.*—AD : PO : GNS | LIA. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.— . PRN | APS . R | AQIT | ANIA | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before.

Wt. 18.3 grs. [Pl. XIII. 12.]
My Collection.

4. As last, but obverse legend ends AGLA.

Wt. 18 grs. British Museum.

5. *Obv.*—AD PO GNS | RAG : AG : R. Stops, pellets.
Type as before.

Rev.— . PRN | APS . | AQIT | ANIA | Stops, rosettes.
Type as before.

Wt. 21 grs. British Museum.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties:—

1. *Obv.*—AD PO GNS RAG AGLIA.

Rev.— . PRNAPS . R AQITANIA.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3058), from the Lefebvre Collection.

2. *Obv.*—AD PO GNS RAG AGIA.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3050).

3. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓΙ ΑΓΛΗΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3055).

4. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓΙ ΑΓΛΙ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3057).

5. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓΙ ΑΓΛΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3051).

6. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓ ΑΝΓΛ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3059), from the Duleau Collection.

7. *Obv.*—ΑΔ : ΡΟ : ΘΝΣ : ΡΑΓ : ΑΝΘΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3056).

8. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓ ΑΓΛΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3054).

9. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑ ΑΝΓΛΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3053).

10. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑ ΑΓΛΙΑ.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3052).

11. *Obv.*—ΑΔ ΡΟ ΘΝΣ ΡΑΓ ΑΓΛΑ Ρ.

Rev.— . ΡΡΝΑΡΣ . ΑΟΥΤΑΝΗΑ. Stops, rosettes. Last n upside down.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3049).

Tarbes.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD PO GT R | AG AGLA . T . Stops, pellets.
Type as before. Canopy, rounded arch.

Rev.—PRI | APS | AQT | ANA | Type as before. Lis
in 1st angle.

Wt. 14·6 grs. [Pl. XIII. 13.]

My Collection.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties:—

1. *Obv.*—AD PO GNS RAG AGLA T.

Rev.—PRNAPS AQITANNA.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3066), from the Bordeaux
Museum.

2. *Obv.*—AD : PO : GNS : RAG : AGL T.

Rev.—As last.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3067).

3. *Obv.*—As last, but legend ending AGLI T.

Rev.—PRNAPS AEITANNA.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3065).

Without mint-name.

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—AD PO GANT | RAGI AGLA. Type as before.
Canopy with annulet ends.

Rev.—PRN | APS | AQI | TAN | . Type as before.

Wt. 14·5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 14.]

British Museum.

Uncertain type.

Poey d'Avant and Ainslie describe the following
varieties:—

1. *Obv.*—AD PO GIS RAGI AGLA.

Rev.— . PRNAPS . AQITANNA. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3095).

2. *Obv.*—As last, but legend ending $\Lambda\text{N}\Theta\alpha$.

Rev.— $\cdot \text{PRN}\alpha\text{PS} \cdot \Lambda\text{QVT}\Lambda\text{N}\alpha$. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3097).

3. *Obv.*— $\alpha\text{D} : \text{PO} : \text{R}\alpha\Theta\text{S} : \Lambda\Theta\alpha$.

Rev.— $\cdot \text{PR}\alpha\text{PS} \cdot \Lambda\text{QT}\Lambda\text{N}\alpha$. Stops, rosettes.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3096).

4. *Obv.*— $\alpha\text{D} \text{ PO } \Theta\text{T} \text{ R}\alpha\Theta \text{ } \Lambda\Theta\text{L}$.

Rev.— $\text{PRI}\alpha\text{PI} \Lambda\text{QT}\Lambda\text{N}\alpha$.

Ainslie Collection (p. 98).

BILLON COINAGE.

Double.

Figeac.

Obv.—✠ $\alpha\text{D}' \cdot \text{P}'\text{O} : \Theta' : \text{R}\alpha\Theta' : \Lambda\text{N}\Theta\text{L}' : \text{PRNS} :$ Stops, pellets. $\Lambda\text{QVI} - \text{T}\Lambda\text{I}\alpha$ in two lines across the field, surmounted by a crown. Beaded inner circle.

Rev.—✠ $\text{MONET}\Lambda : | : \text{DVPLEX F.}$ Stops, pellets. Cross calvary, lower limb dividing legend; the other limbs with trefoil ends, and within beaded inner circle.

Piedfort. Wt. 205·6 grs.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 13), from the O'Reilly Collection.

Poey d'Avant also describes an ordinary specimen (No. 2961) weighing 23·5 grains, from the Charvet Collection.

Poitiers.

1. *Obv.*—✠ $\alpha\text{D} \text{ PO } \Theta\text{TV} \text{ R}\alpha\Theta \text{ } \Lambda\text{N}\Theta\text{I}\alpha$. Type as last. $\Lambda\text{QIT}\Lambda\text{I}\alpha$ in field.

Rev.— $\text{MONET}\Lambda \text{ P } \text{DVPL}\alpha\text{X}$, Type as last.

Wt. 19·5 grs.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3003).

2. As last, but reading *REGI* on obverse.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3004), from the Voillemier Collection.

3. *Obv.*—As last, but reading *REG*.

Rev.—P at end of legend. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3005), from the Parot Collection.

Rochelle.

Obv.— . *ED P ES R . . . PRÆPS.* Type as before.
ΛQITΛIΛ in field.

Rev.— . *MONETA DVPLX R.* Type as last.
Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3048).

Without mint-letter.

1. *Obv.*—*ED PO ETY REG ΛNΞIΛ . ΛQI - TΛIΛ* in two lines across the field, surmounted by a large crown, which pierces the inner circle and divides the legend.

Rev.—✠ *MONETA | DVPLEX.* Type as before.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 12), from the Rousseau Collection.

The above description is taken from the letterpress of Poey d'Avant, but the illustration exactly resembles the double of Poitiers (No. 1) with P in the reverse legend.

2. *Obv.*—*ED : PO : ET . . . PRÆPS.* Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 18 grs.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3094).

It is not clear from Poey d'Avant's description whether this coin has the mint-letter effaced or is without a mint-letter.

Denier.

Bordeaux.

Obv.—✠ AD : PO : ANGLIA : B. Plain cross within inner circle, dividing field into four quarters. Fleur-de-lis in 1st and 4th quarters, leopard passant guardant to l. in 2nd and 3rd quarters.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS AQUITANIA. Cross pattée within beaded inner circle.

Poey d'Avant (No. 2948), from the Guilemot Collection.

Limoges.

Obv.—✠ AD REGIS ANGLIA L. Type as last.

Rev.— PS AQUITANIA.

Wt. 12.5 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

General Ainslie states that this coin was struck at Lectoure, where the Black Prince had a mint for coining "Black money;" but I think that it is more likely to have been struck at Limoges, where we know, from the document published by M. Adrien Blanchet, that coins of this denomination were struck.

Poitiers.

1. *Obv.*—✠ AD PO GAVIT REGI ANGLIA P. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ . PRIN : APS . AQUITANIA. Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Wt. 13.8 grs. [Pl. XIII. 15.]

My Collection.

2. As last, but reading AQUITANIA.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

3. As No. 1, but reading AQUITANIA.

Lecointre-Dupont Collection.

4. *Obv.*—✠ AD PO GAVITV REGI ANGLIA P. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS AQUITANIA. Type as before.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3000).

Rochelle.

1. *Obv.*—✠ AD PO ENS : RÆGI : ANGLÆ : R Stops, pellets. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS . ANQVITANNA . R. Stops, rosettes.
Type as before.

Wt. 13·5 grs. [Pl. XIII. 16.]

My Collection.

2. *Obv.*—✠ AD PO ENS RÆGIS ANGLIÆ R. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS . ANQVITANNA . R. Stops, rosettes.
Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 14).

Without mint-letter.

Obv.—✠ AD PO GENITV RÆGI ANGLÆ. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS ANQVITANNA. Type as before.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3090).

Lion denier.

Bordeaux.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED § PRIMO § GENITVS. Leopard couchant guardant to l. within beaded inner circle. B below.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS § ANQVITANNE. Cross pattée within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 12·3 grs. [Pl. XIII. 17.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED PMO GENITVS. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 15·2 grs.

British Museum.

Poitiers.

Type 1. Leopard to l.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO ENS REGIS ANQ. Type as last. P below leopard.

Rev.—✠ PRINCEPS ANQVITANNE P. Type as last.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO GNS REG ANGL. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—✠ PRNS AQVITANIE. Type as No. 1.

3. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

Rev.—✠ PRNS AQVITANIE. Type as No. 1.

4. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

Rev.—✠ PNPB AQVITANIE P. Type as No. 1.

5. *Obv.*—As No. 2.

Rev.—✠ PNB AQVITANI P. Type as No. 1.

6. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO GENITVS. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—PRB AQ . . . NIE. Type as No. 1.

7. *Obv.*—✠ ED PO GIT REG AGIE. Type as No. 1.

Rev.—^PPNPB AQTANIE. Type as No. 1.

The descriptions of these seven coins are all taken from M. Lecoindre-Dupont's *Monnaies de Poitou*, who describes them from specimens in his own collection, except No. 1, which is in the collection of M. l'Abbé de Béchillon.

Type 2. Leopard to r.

1. *Obv.*—✠ ED . PO . GNS . REG ANG Stops, pellets. Leopard couchant guardant to r. within a tressure of eight arches. P below.

Rev.—✠ PNB . AQVITANIE. Stop, pellet. Plain cross pattée within beaded inner circle.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 19), from the Charvet Collection.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS REG : ANG : . Stops, annulets. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ . . . NB . AQVITANIE. Stop, pellet. Type as last.

Bernard Roth Collection.

3. *Obv.*—✠ ED · PO GNS RAG ANGL. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ PNS ꝥ KQVITANIA. Stops, annulets. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxx. 20), from the Guillemot Collection.

4. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—✠ PRNAPS KQVITANI. Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3030), from the Guillemot Collection.

5. *Obv.*—✠ ED : PO : GNS : RAG : ANGL. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ PNP S : KQITANIA.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3031), from the Rondier Collection.

RICHARD II.

The gold coins of Richard II consist of a hardi and a demi-hardi, with the mint-letter B for Bordeaux, or without mint-letter; the silver coinage consists of a double hardi and hardi; and the billon coinage of a denier. The silver hardi is fairly common, but the other denominations are rare, the demi hardi d'or and the double hardi d'argent especially so.

On March 2, 1390, Richard created John of Gaunt Duke of Aquitaine, and in the grant of the duchy the right of coinage is expressly given in terms similar to those in the grant by Edward III to the Black Prince. John of Gaunt did not leave England to take up his post in Aquitaine till the beginning of 1395, and on March 22 of that year he entered into a formal compact with the inhabitants of Bordeaux, which is known as the Treaty of Bordeaux, in which special mention is made of this right of coinage. John of Gaunt did not remain long in his duchy, for at the end of the same year he was recalled to England.

The question remains—Did he ever strike coins

as Duke of Aquitaine, bearing his own name? If so, no such coins have yet come to light. It is improbable that any such coins would be struck between March 2, 1390, and March, 1395. The coins of Richard would continue to be struck, though the revenues of the mints would go to the Duke of Aquitaine. His actual government lasted only a few months, and it seems quite possible that he never had time to arrange for a new issue of coins bearing his own name.

Two other grants remain to be mentioned. One is dated June 12, 1377, and is a grant by Edward III to John of Gaunt, to strike money in Bayonne, Guiche, and the Landes, for a period of two years. The other is dated March 7, 1380, and is a similar grant by Richard II to John of Gaunt, also for two years, to strike money at Bayonne and D'Ax. There are no coins which can be attributed with any certainty to John of Gaunt under either of these grants, though it is possible that the denier of D'Ax, described under Edward III, may be attributable to this period (see *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 280, 315).

GOLD COINAGE.

Hardi d'or.

Bordeaux.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICHARD' : D' : GR'N : AGL'G : FRAN'QIA :
RX : D' : AET. Stops, pellets. Half-length
figure of the King, crowned, facing, sword in r.
hand; l. raised, within a tressure of nine arches

Rev.—✠ : ANXILIVM . MAVM . N . DOMINO . B .
Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of
legend. Cross quernée, quatrefoil in centre,
enclosing pellet. Leopard in 1st and 4th
angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles. The whole
within a tressure of twelve arches.

Wt. 57.6 grs.

My Collection.

An exactly similar specimen is illustrated in the Montagu Sale Catalogue (Pl. v. 347).

2. As last, but obverse legend ends $\Lambda\epsilon\iota$.

Wt. 59.25 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. ii. 18).

3. As before, but obverse legend ends Λ .

Wt. 59.9 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. ii. 22).

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—✠ $\text{RICARD} : D : \text{GRA} : \text{AGLA} : \text{FRANCA} : D : \text{ACITAN}$. Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ :: $\text{ANXILIVM} \cdot \text{MAVM} \cdot \Lambda \cdot \text{DOMINO} \cdot B$.
Stops, rosettes; four pellets at beginning of legend. Type as last. Lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 57.5 grs.

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—✠ $\text{RICARD} : D : \text{GRA} : \text{AGLA} : \text{FRANCA} : \text{RX} : D' : \text{ACIT}$. Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Murdoch Collection (Pl. xi. 383).

3. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—✠ : $\text{ANXILIVM} \cdot \text{MAVM} \cdot \Lambda \cdot \text{DOMINO} \cdot B$.
Stops, rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend. Type as before.

Moon Collection (Pl. i. 65).

Specimens of this type also occurred in the Inderwick Collection (Pl. c. 197) and the H. Meyer Collection (Pl. xiv. 1562).

4. *Obv.*—✠ $\text{RICARD} \cdot D \cdot \text{GRA} \cdot \text{RAX} \cdot \text{AGLA} \cdot \text{FRANCA} \cdot D \cdot \text{ACIT}$. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Property of a Gentleman (Sotheby, 1905, lot 21).

Without mint-letter.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ RIQARD' : D : GRN : AGLA : FRΛQIΛ : D :
ΛCITAN. Stops, pellets. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ : ΛVXILIVM : MΛVM : π : DOMINO Stops,
rosettes; two pellets at beginning of legend.
Type as before. Leopard in 1st and 4th angles,
lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 57·9 grs. [Pl. XIV. 1.]

British Museum.

Demi-hardi d'or.

Bordeaux.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ RIQARD : RX : ANGLIΛ : FRΛQI. Stops,
pellets. Bust of King, facing, crowned,
within tressure of seven arches.

Rev.—✠ ΛVXILIVM : MΛVM : π : DNO : B. Stops,
pellets. Cross quernée, as on the hardi,
within beaded inner circle. Leopard in 1st
and 4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Murdoch Collection (Pl. xi. 384).

Type 2. Lis in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ RIQARD' : RX : ANGLIΛ : FRΛQI. Stops,
pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—✠ ΛVXILIVM : MΛVM : π : DNO : B. Stops,
pellets. Type as last. Lis in 1st and 4th
angles, leopard in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 29·5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 2.]

Cab. de Fr.

Without mint-letter.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

Obv.—✠ RIQARD : RX : ANGLIΛ : FRΛQI. Stops,
pellets. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ ΛVXILIVM : MΛVM : π : DOMIN. Stops,
pellets. Type as before. Leopard in 1st and
4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 29 grs.

British Museum.

Illustrated in Grueber's *Handbook* (Pl. x. 304).

A specimen of this coin occurred also in the H. Meyer Collection, and is illustrated in the Sale Catalogue (Pl. xiv. 1563).

SILVER COINAGE.

Double hardi d'argent.

Obv.—RICARDVS : REX : ANGLIA. Stops, pellets. Half-length figure of the King, crowned, facing, under a canopy; sword in r. hand, l. raised. Beaded inner circle pierced by the canopy.

Rev.—FRAN | GIA · DN | S · ACVI | TANIA | Stops, pellets. Cross pattée, extending to edge of coin. Leopard in 1st and 4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 30 grs. [Pl. XIV. 3.]

British Museum.

Hardi d'argent.

1. *Obv.*—RICARD' | RX · ANGLIA. Stop, pellet. Half-length figure of the King, crowned, facing, as on the double hardi, the inner circle cut by both the canopy and the King's bust.

Rev.— · FRAN | GIA · DN | S · ACI | TANIA | Stops, pellets. Cross pattée, extending to edge of coin. Leopard in 1st and 4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 16·2 grs. [Pl. XIV. 4.]

British Museum.

2. *Obv.*—RICARD | RX · ANGLI. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 11·4 grs.

British Museum.

3. *Obv.*—RICARD' | R · ANGLIA. Type as last.

Rev.— · FRAN | GIA | DNS | ACI | . Type as last.

Wt. 15 grs.

British Museum.

4. *Obv.*—RICARD · R · | X · ANGLIA. Stops, pellets. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 11·7 grs.

British Museum.

5. *Obv.*—RICARD | RX ANGLIA. Type as last.

Rev.—FRANCIS DNS ATANIA. Type as last.

Wt. 16 grs.

British Museum.

BILLON COINAGE.

Denier.

1. *Obv.*—✠ RICARD RX · ANGLIA FRANCIA. Stop, pellet. Short cross with lis in 1st and 4th angles, and leopard passant in 2nd and 3rd angles; placed square to the coin. The whole within a beaded inner circle.

Rev.—✠ DOMINVS AQUITANIA. Cross pattée within beaded inner circle.

Wt. 14·3 grs. [Pl. XIV. 5.]

British Museum;

Poey d'Avant describes a specimen from his own Collection (No. 3107) weighing 17 grains, and one in the Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 56) weighed 14·75 grains.

2. *Obv.*—As last, but legend ending FRANIA.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 12·75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 55).

Poey d'Avant describes two lion deniers or oboles (Pl. lxvi. 5 and 6) on the authority of Duby, but I have not met with any specimens of these coins. The reverse legend is stated to be "Dux Aquitanie," which must be wrong, if the coins exist at all.

HENRY IV.

The coins of Henry IV consist of a gold hardi, which is unique; a silver double hardi, which is very rare; a silver hardi, of which several varieties are known; and a billon denier, of which there are also several varieties. In the *Supplement* to Ainslie there are described two sterlings (Pl. ii. 32 and 33) in the British Museum, which are ascribed to Henry IV; but after a careful examination of the coins, I have no hesitation in saying that they are both sterlings of Henry of Lancaster, struck for Bergerac, of the type of Poey d'Avant (Pl. lviii. 8). They are described in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, p. 327.

In the *Supplement* to Ainslie there is also described a double (Pl. ii. 30) from the Cuff Collection, which is ascribed to Henry IV; but I think that this is a mistaken reading of the double of Edward III figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, Pl. xxii. 16. There is also ascribed to Henry IV a billon lion denier (Pl. ii. 29), which I think is a mistaken reading of the lion denier of the Black Prince described on p. 161.

The coins of Henry IV as a rule bear no mint-initial, but the hardi d'or bears the mint-initial of Bordeaux. Some of the coins bear the letter \mathfrak{m} at the end of the obverse legend, and Poey d'Avant suggests that, if a mint is intended, Marmande, a town on the Garonne, about fifty miles from Bordeaux, may be that mint.

It is possible that some of the coins usually attributed to Henry IV were struck during the early years of the reign of Henry V, but I have not found any means of distinguishing them, and it is probable that if Henry V did strike any such coins he merely continued the current types. When we come to consider the coins of

Henry V, we shall find a broad distinction between his coins and those of his predecessors. Prior to his reign, the coins struck by English kings had always been in the nature of feudal coins, struck for use in the Duchy of Aquitaine or the Earldoms of Poitou or Ponthieu; but those of Henry V are French regal coins, struck by him as King of France for general currency and not merely for local use.

The hardi d'or of Henry IV differs from those of his predecessors in having a leopard passant to the right and a bear passant to the left of the King's bust, on the shoulders. I can offer no explanation as to the meaning of the bear. Duby has published another type of the hardi d'or with a leopard and a fleur-de-lis on the King's shoulders, but no specimen of this type is known to exist.

Another peculiarity in the coins of this reign may be noticed, that is, the substitution of a branch of broom (*planta genista*) in the place of the fleur-de-lis on the reverse of a silver hardi, and the same symbol on either side of the King's bust on the obverse. There is also a billon denier having a similar branch for the obverse type. This identification is suggested by Mr. Bernard Roth. Mr. Grueber (*Handbook*, p. 58) identified the object on the denier as a branch.

GOLD COINAGE.

Hardi d'or.
Bordeaux.

Obv.—✠ HENRIC : DEI : GRA : R : ANGLIA : R : D :
ÆT. Stops, quatrefoils. Half-length figure of the King, facing, crowned; sword in r. hand, l. raised. Leopard passant to r., bear passant to l., on the shoulders.

Rev.—✠ : AVXILIVM . MAVM . N . DOMINO ∴ B.
Stops, rosettes; two quatrefoils at beginning of legend, two annulets before B. Cross quernée, with quatrefoil centre, within beaded inner circle. Leopard passant in 1st and 4th angles, fleur-de-lis in 2nd and 3rd angles.

[Pl. XIV. 6.]

Cab. de Fr.

SILVER COINAGE.

Double hardi d'argent.

1. *Obv.*—ENRICVS . REX . ANGLIA . . Stops, rosettes.
Half-length figure of the King, facing, crowned, holding sword in r. hand, l. raised. Canopy above, dividing legend.

Rev.—FRAN | IA DN | S . AN | TANNIA | Cross pattée, extending to edge of coin. Leopard in 1st and 4th angles, lis in 2nd and 3rd angles. Plain inner circle.

Wt. 26·8 grs. [Pl. XIV. 7.]

British Museum.

Another specimen in the British Museum, wrongly attributed by Hawkins to Edward III, weighs 23·9 grs.

2. *Obv.*—ENRICVS . REX . ANGLIA . Stops, annulets;
annulet over crown. Type as last.

Rev.—FRAN | CIA . D | NS . AN | TANN | Stops,
annulets. Type as last.

Wt. 28·8 grs. Walters Collection.

Poey d'Avant describes the following varieties:—

3. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Legend ends ANQVITAN.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3113), from the De Crouy Collection.

4. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—FRANQIA • DNS • ΛQITANIA. Stops, annulets.
Type as before.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3112), from the Testas Collection.

5. As last, but obverse legend begins *h*ANRIQVS.

Poey d'Avant Collection (Pl. lxvi. 8).

6. *Obv.*—ARIA • REX • ANGLIA • FRΛ. Stops, annulets.

Rev.—FRANQIA • DNS • ΛQITAN.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3114), from the Bordeaux Museum.

Hardi d'argent.

Type 1. Leopard in 1st angle.

1. *Obv.*—ARIA R ANGLIA. Type as double hardi.
Legend cut by canopy at top, and by King's bust at bottom.

Rev.—FRΛ | QIA | DNS | ΛCI | Type as double hardi,
the two fleurs-de-lis ending in pellets.

Wt. 21·2 grs. [Pl. XIV. 8.]

My Collection.

2. As last, but two fleurs-de-lis on reverse ending in annulets.

Wt. 13·4 grs.

British Museum.

3. As No. 1, but pellet below *a* of FRANQIA and *l* of ΛCI on reverse.

Wt. 19·5 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 62).

4. As last, but reading *h*ANRIA on obverse.

Wt. 15·3 grs.

British Museum.

5. *Obv.*—hANRIA R | ANGLIA. Type as before.

Rev.—FRΛ | QIA • | DNS | ΛCI • | Stops, rosettes.
Type as No. 1.

Wt. 18·8 grs.

British Museum.

6. As last, but pellet between *n* and *R* of *ANRIQ* on obverse.

Wt. 13·75 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 61).

7. As No. 5, but pellet below *l* of *FRANQ* on reverse.

Wt. 18·6 grs.

British Museum.

One in the Ainslie Collection weighed 13·75 grains.

8. *Obv.*—*hANRIQ' R ANGLIA*. Type as last.

Rev.—As last. No pellet below *l* of *FRANQ*.

Wt. 18·5 grs.

Ainslie Collection.

9. *Obv.*—*hANRIQI R ANGLIA*. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 16·5 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 63).

Type 2. *Lis* in 1st angle.

Obv.—*ANRIQ . . . ANGLIA*. Type as before.

Rev.—*FRANQ | DNS | ANCI |* Type as before. *Lis* in 1st angle.

Messrs. Spink & Son.

Type 3. *Marmande* (?).

Obv.—*ANRIQ R | ANLIA M*. Type as before.

Rev.—*FRANQ | DNS | ANCI |* Stops, rosettes. Type as before. Pellets at bases of *fleurs-de-lis*. Leopard in 1st angle.

Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. XIV. 9.]

My Collection.

Type 4. With branch of broom.

1. *Obv.*—*hANRIQ R ANGLIA*. Bust of King, facing, as before; a branch of broom (*planta genista*) in the field on either side.

Rev.—✠ FRANKA · D · ACITANA. Stops, rosettes.
Small cross pattée, within beaded inner circle.
Leopard passant in 1st and 4th angles, a
branch of broom in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Wt. 12·3 grs. [Pl. XIV. 10.]

My Collection.

2. As last, but reading HARRI . . .

Poey d'Avant (No. 3116), from the Fougères
Collection.

BILLON COINAGE.

Denier.

Type 1.

Obv.—✠ HARRI · REX · ANGLIA. Stops, rosettes.
Plain cross with a fleur-de-lis in 1st and 4th
angles, leopard passant guardant to l. in 2nd
and 3rd angles, within beaded inner circle.

Rev.—✠ FRANKA D ACITANA. Cross pattée, within
plain inner circle.

Wt. 11·5 grs. [Pl. XIV. 11.]

British Museum.

One in my Collection weighs 14·5 grs.

Var. a.

Obv.—✠ HARRI · R · ANGLIA · M. Stops, rosettes.
Type as last.

Rev.—✠ FRANKA · DNS · ACI · Stops, rosettes.
Type as last.

Poey d'Avant (No. 3126), from the Mioche
Collection.

Compare the hardi d'argent, type 3.

Type 2.

Obv.—✠ HARRI · REX · ANGLIA. Stops, rosettes.
Type as before.

Rev.—✠ DOMINVS · ACITANA. Stop, rosette. Type
as before.

Wt. 13·6 grs.

Poey d'Avant Collection (No. 3123).

Var. a.

As last, but obverse legend ends $\Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A} \cdot \text{F}$.

Cab. de Fr.

Var. b.

Obv.—✠ $\text{AN} \dots \text{RAX} \cdot \Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}$. Stops, rosettes.
Type as last.

Rev.—✠ $\text{DOMINVS} \cdot \Lambda\text{EITAN}\text{I}\text{A}$. Stop, rosette. Type
as last.

Wt. 14·3 grs. [Pl. XIV. 12.]

British Museum.

The obverse legend is probably the same as the type.

Var. c.

Obv.—✠ $\text{ANRI} \dots \Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{L}\text{I}\text{A}^+\text{RAX}$. Small cross
before RAX . Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 15·25 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 59).

Var. d.

Obv.—✠ $\text{A'RI}\text{A} \dots \Lambda\text{N}\text{G}\text{LI}$. Type as before.

Rev.—✠ $\text{DOM} \dots \text{ITAN}\text{I}\text{A}$. Type as before.

Wt. 14·5 grs.

My Collection.

Type 3.

Obv.—✠ $\text{ANRI}\text{A} \cdot \text{R} \dots \text{I}\text{A} \cdot \text{R} \dots$ Stops, rosettes.
Type as before, but the leopard and lis in the
3rd and 4th angles are placed upside down.

Rev.—✠ $\text{DOMINVS} \cdot \Lambda\text{EITAN}\text{I}\text{A}$. Stop, rosette. Type
as before.

Wt. 11·2 grs. [Pl. XIV. 13.]

My Collection.

Var. a.

As last, but obverse legend ends D.

Poey d'Avant (lxvi. 15), from the Rousseau
Collection.

Var. *b*.

Obv.—✠ ΕΝΡΙΚ ΡΧ ΑΝΓΛΙΑ. Type as before.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 13·5 grs.

Ainslie Collection (Pl. v. 58).

Type 4.

Obv.—✠ ΕΝΡΙΚΥΣ · ΡΧ ΑΝΓΛΙ : β. Stop, rosette ; two pellets before β. Type as before, but the leopards and lis are placed to the centre of the coin.

Rev.—✠ DOMINVS · ΑΕΙΤΑΝΙΑ. Stop, rosette. Type as before.

Wt. 10 grs. [Pl. XIV. 14.]

British Museum.

Type 5.

Obv.—✠ ΕΝΡΙΚ · ΡΑΧ · Α. Stops, rosettes. A branch of broom within beaded inner circle.

Rev.—✠ FRANKIA · D · ΑΕΙΤΑΝΙΑ. Stops, rosettes. Small cross pattée, within beaded inner circle. Fleur-de-lis in 1st and 4th angles, leopard passant guardant to l. in 2nd and 3rd angles.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxvi. 18), from the Compère and Testas Collections.

Var. *a*.

1. As last, but leopard in 1st and 4th angles, and fleur-de-lis in 2nd and 3rd angles on reverse.

Poey d'Avant (Pl. lxvi. 19), from the De Puiferrat Collection.

Var. *b*.

2. *Obv.*—✠ ΗΕΝΡΙΚ · ΡΑΧ · ΑΝΓΛΙΑ. Stops, rosettes. Type as last.

Rev.—As last.

Wt. 10 grs.

Bernard Roth Collection.



In the *Supplement* to Ainslie there are described a double and a lion denier of Henry IV. The double is from the Cuff Collection, and the obverse legend is stated to be: ✠ ηα . . . Χ ΠΝΕΛΙΑ. I think this is probably a mistaken reading of the double of Edward III. The lion denier is from the Wigan Collection, and the legends are stated to be: *Obv.*—✠ αηρ . . . ΠΝΕΛ, and *Rev.*—✠ FR . . . S ΠQVITΠΙΑ. I think these are probably mistaken readings for the lion denier of the Black Prince, and should be: *Obv.*—✠ αD ΡΜΟ, &c., and *Rev.*—PRINααPS ΠQVITΠΙΑ.

Poey d'Avant describes a silver piece (Pl. lxvii. 3) from the Colson Collection, which he calls a blanc, and which has on the obverse the legend ✠ αηριαυS αΑRTVS D., and for type a leopard, crowned, passant to left; on the reverse the legend, ✠ αηριαυS RαX . . . ΓΙΑ, and for type a building with three towers, with B below. He points out that the reverse type is that of the three towers of Castile, and the mint-letter B that of Burgos, but assigns it to Henry IV on account of its similarity to a coin figured by Duby and illustrated by Poey d'Avant in Pl. lxvi. 21. The coin, however, must be attributed to Henry IV of Castile, the reverse legend being αηριαυS RαX αΑSTILLIA. The coin figured by Duby, if it exists, must also be attributed to the same King.

LIONEL M. HEWLETT.

(To be continued.)

VII.

MEMORIAL MEDAL OF ANNE ELDRED.

(See Plate XV.)

THE medal figured on **Pl. XV.** was acquired by Sir John Evans from the sale, by Messrs. Sotheby, on 5 June, 1907, of *Coins and Medals the property of a gentleman deceased*, No. 149.

A similar piece was sold (lot 275) in the Murdoch Sale, June, 1904 (*Sale Cat.*, pl. xiii.).

An example in the British Museum is described in *Medallic Illustrations of British History*, ed. 1885 (vol. i. No. 241, p. 571), as follows:—

“Armorial shield of Eldred: *Az.* a cross formée fitchy *or*, on a chief of the last, three globes of the first, impaling Godman, per pale ermine and ermines, on a chief indented *or*, a lion passant *vert*.

“*Leg.*—ANNE . THE WIFE OF IO . ELDRED . ESQ .
DIED . MAR . THE 31 . 1678 . AGED 72.

“*Rev.*—A veiled female figure seated facing, holding a skull, and resting her head upon her hand, supported by a pedestal, on which stands an urn.

“*Leg.*—A . WISE WOMAN . BUILDETH . HER . HOUSE.

“2. *Med. Hist.*, xx. 7. M.B. *R.* Very rare.

“Cast, chased, hollow, high relief, rather coarse workmanship. The family of Eldred were seated at Olavers, in Essex. One of them collected sequestrations in 1645;

his eldest son, John, died 16 Nov., 1682, having married Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Godman, of Leatherhead, Surrey."

The medal is figured in the illustrated edition, plate lix. 2, *Medallic Illustrations* (1907). A second specimen in the British Museum, which is contemporary, is solid, not hollow. The description given above applies equally to the example in the Evans Collection, though the date 1678 is not quite so clear as regards the figure 8, as on the British Museum specimen.

In one particular I think the description is open to revision. The arms of *Godman* are described as "... on a chief *indented*." This is, no doubt, the correct blazoning, but I cannot see any trace of such indenture on any example of the medal. The arms of Godman were confirmed to Thomas Godman in 1579. "In 1871," Mr. Percy S. Godman writes, "in consequence of inquiries I made at the College of Arms, London, I received the following letter from William H. Weldon, Rouge Dragon: 'On searching the records in this office, I can find but one coat of Godman. It is a pen-and-ink sketch . . . 1579, May 12. The sketch shows an indented line drawn through the quartering of the shield. This alteration may have been made for Thomas Godman, 1579. It is probable that this was not the original grant of arms, only an allowance of them. . . . It is certain Edward Godman, of Wivelsfield, 1634, proved his right to the use of them. If the sketch made in 1579 for Thomas Godman, of Lethered were an allowance of arms previously used, the confirmation of the allowance to Edward Godman is more easily understood'" (see *Some Account of the Family of Godman*, privately printed, 1897, London, p. 65). This book has been

kindly lent to me by Mr. F. du Cane Godman, F.R.S., a Trustee of the British Museum.

Sir Alfred S. Scott-Gatty (Garter Principal King-at-Arms) is good enough to tell me that the arms of Godman were granted by the Norroy King-of-Arms, by patent dated May 12, 1579. The chief is indented, and "nowhere," writes Sir Alfred, "can I find arms to Godman in the College archives with a plain chief." The plain chief of the medal is therefore inaccurate. Though Rouge Dragon, in 1871, wrote of the "quartering" of the shield, it would seem that the lion is really "in chief," though the very large amount of space allotted to it gives the appearance of quartering.

The Anne Eldred of the medal was the daughter of "Thomas Godman, of Lethered," and Olive his wife. Anne and her three sisters, Frances (m. Francis Gerard), Mary (m. John Barefoot), and Elizabeth (m. (1) Richard Catcher, "Dr. of Physick in London;" (2) William Parker), were all married before 1639. There were no sons.

Thomas Godman (d. about 1611), one of the chief parishioners of Leatherhead, to whom the arms were confirmed or granted in 1579, was Anne's grandfather. His wife Ann left by will (dated 7 Apr., 1639, proved P.C.C., 26 June, 1640) to her daughter, Olive Godman, "my book of Turner's Herball . . . to my son Godman's three daughters, Anne Eldred, Elizabeth Catcher, Frances Gerard, my 3 rings. . . ." (*Godman MSS.*).

Thomas (Anne's father), 1575-1661, is mentioned in Foster's *Alumni Oxon.*, as "Thomas Goodman, of London, pleb. Exeter Coll. Matric. 17 Mar., 1591-2, aged 17, sup. for Bac. 11 Nov., 1594." He was a student of the Inner Temple, 1594 (see Foster's *Inns of Court Register*).

His will (dated 19 Oct., 1652, proved P.C.C. 20 Sept., 1661) mentions his daughter, Anne Eldred.

About 1560, Thomas Godman the elder bought Maschall, a small manor in the parish of Folkestone, Kent. This was sold by his son, together with Hoptons Manor, in Alkham, Kent, to John Eldred in 1628.

Anne's mother, Olive (buried 3 Nov., 1669: Leatherhead Register), by will (dated 1662, proved P.C.C., 8 Nov., 1669) leaves all her "silver plate and silver guilt plate and household linnen" to her four daughters, "Anne, wife of John Eldred, Elizabeth, wife of William Parker, Frances, wife of Francis Gerard, and Mary Barefoot, widow, equally."

The family of Eldred is one of considerable interest in the Eastern Counties.

The most famous of the name was JOHN ELDRED (1552-1632), born at New Buckenham, Norfolk, whither his father had moved from Knatteshall, in Suffolk, where the family had been for several generations. John was a traveller (Hakluyt, ed. 1809, p. 402, *Voyage of Mr. John Eldred, &c.*, 1583). He seems to have gone to London to seek his fortunes, and, in 1583, left England in the *Tiger*, arriving at Tripoli, 1 May, and at Aleppo, 11 June, 1584, proceeding to Babylon (Bagdad), Antioch, Joppa, and Jerusalem, and getting back to London 26 Mar., 1588, in the *Hercules*, "the richest ship of English merchants' goods that ever was known to come into this realm." With some of the money thus acquired he bought, in 1597, from Sir Thomas Kytson (see Gage's *Hist. of Hengrave*, pp. 14, 106, &c.), the manor of Saxham, Suffolk, and built Great Saxham Hall, thenceforth known as "Nutmeg Hall." This house was burnt down in 1779. In the park at Saxham there still stands an

old thorn tree, known as "Eldred's Thorn," under which is said to have been his favourite seat (*West Suffolk*, illust., part 12, p. 315). From his will, now in Somerset House, it is evident that he possessed other considerable property, including some land at Layer Marney, Essex. In spite of the purchase of Great Saxham, he still was much in London for "the rest of his earthly pilgrimage" (*Mon. Insc. Gt. Saxham*), and was one of the original subscribers at the starting of the East India Company, and a member of its first Court of Directors. He belonged to the Clothworkers' Company (see Brit. Mus. MSS. Add. 5575, f. 3), and was "alderman of that famous cittie" (*Mon. Insc., Gt. Saxham*).

During the reign of James I he was a contractor and commissioner for the sale of lands, a farmer of customs, and holder of a patent for the pre-emption of tin" (*Diet. Nat. Biog.*).

He left directions in his will, dated 8 Oct., 1630, that he should be buried in the church of St. Michael, Basing's Hall (= "Bassing's Hall" = "Bassishaw." See Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. 1633, p. 855, where it is mentioned that this church was "repaired and beautified," 1630—"a proper church lately re-edified or new builded," *ib.*, p. 299), or at Great Saxham, if he died there. In the event he died at Saxham, and was buried in the church there, 8 Dec., 1632. In that church there still is, at the upper end of the chancel, in a circular niche on the south side, a bust of him, in stone, "painted, large as life" (*Arch.*, xv. 403). It is inscribed—

"His age } LXXX.
"His death }

Some verses, referring to his travels and his wealth,

follow. It will be noticed that the date of his death is not given.

He had married Mary, daughter of Thomas Revett, of Rishangles, in Suffolk, and had a large family. His wife predeceased him, dying in childbed, and was buried at St. Michael's, Bassishaw, 15 Apr., 1613. For some reason, which I am unable to fathom, G. E. C., in his *Complete Baronetage*, gives the wife as "daughter of Reginald Brooke, of Aspall, Suffolk, and of St. Michael's, Bassishaw, London."

John's eldest son, Emanuel, baptized at St. Michael's, Bassishaw, 7 June, 1596, died an infant before 1597. His second son, Revett, was made a baronet, 24 Jan., 1641-2. The baronetcy was disallowed, under the Rump Parliament, 4 Feb., 1651-2, until the Restoration. Revett Eldred was Sheriff of Suffolk, 20 Nov., 1645, but was excused on 6 Dec. of that year. He married, before June 4, 1638, Anne, daughter and co-heir of John Blakey, or Blackwell, gentleman, of Shropshire, but had no issue. He was buried at St. Michael's, Bassishaw. His will was proved 3 May, 1653. His brother John (of Newington Butts, Surrey, baptized at St. Michael's, Bassishaw, 13 July, 1593, Benchet of Lincoln's Inn) had died in Jan., 1649. He is buried in Mitcham Church (Manning and Bray, *Hist. of Surrey*, vol. i. p. 500), where an achievement was put up to his memory, stating that he was "second brother of Sir Revett Eldred, Baronet" (Lyson's *Environs of London*, i. 356). He left a large family. His sister-in-law, Anne, Lady Eldred, left the property, by will proved June, 1671, to them, and they enjoyed it and the title till 1745-6, when the baronetcy became extinct. The property was sold in 1750 to Hutchinson Mure, Esq., and then to Thomas Mills (Gage, *Hist. of Hengrave*, p. 14).

Revett Eldred placed to his father, John's, memory, under the bust already mentioned, on the chancel floor of Great Saxham Church, a raised monument, where it still remains in good preservation. It is of black marble, inlaid with brass, and represents the deceased in a ruff and "plichon" (i.e. the furred gown of a merchant), with the arms of Eldred, Revett, Eldred impaling Revett, the City of London, the Merchants of the Levant (Stow, *Survey of London*, 1633, p. 615), the East India Company (Stow, p. 617), the Merchants of Russia (Stow, p. 613), and the Clothworkers' Company (Stow, p. 610, but without the ermines there given). Verses follow in Latin and English, descriptive of his travels (*Arch.*, xv. pl. xxxix.; Brit. Mus. MSS. 32478, ff. 155, 156, &c.).

The inscription, which has been verified for me by the Rev. C. W. C. Floyd, Rector of Great Saxham, is puzzling, and seems only explicable on the theory of some mistake of the man who made it. It runs—

"Revettus Eldred ar. Filius et heres mestissimus Defuncti hoc monumentum posuit *Septembris 7: A: Domini*, 1632."

As we have seen, John Eldred was not buried till 8 Dec., 1632, his will being proved 4 Jan., 1632-3. The reading should probably be "*Septembris 7: A.D.* 1633."

The arms of Eldred of Saxham were granted to John Eldred by Sir Wm. Dethick, Garter, 10 June, 34 Eliz. (1592). They are: "*or on a bend ragulé sable*, 3 bezants *or.*" They were confirmed to Anne, Lady Eldred, Revett's widow (Harl. MSS. B. Mus. 1172, 201).

John Eldred, as fourth son, bears on his arms, in sinister chief point, "a martlet for difference."

The second Eldred of eminence was THOMAS, a kinsman of John, but their exact relationship is not apparent.

Gage (*Hist. of Suffolk*) identifies him with the Thomas Eldred buried at Great Saxham, 5 Nov., 1622; but a Thomas Eldred was in Ipswich in command of a ship "lately come from Denmark," 4 Oct., 1625 (*Cal. State Papers : Domestic*).

Our Thomas was certainly of Ipswich, and only Gage's conjecture connects him so closely with Great Saxham (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He was a mariner who sailed with Thomas Cavendish, and in or about 1600 (the date of its incorporation) was appointed to a command in the East India Company's service (*Cal. State Papers : E. Ind.*, 7 Nov., 1600). He is mentioned in connection with the Company, 4 Mar., 1607, and 1 Apr., 1609 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). He married Margaret Stud, of Ipswich, and had a son John, born 1585, alderman of Colchester in 1634, merchant, J.P., afterwards of Little Birch Hall, Essex, and purchaser of the estate of Olivers, in Stanway, Essex. He died 9 Oct., 1646, aged 81, at Little Birch. His will was proved 21 Oct., 1646. He was the father of John Eldred, husband of Anne Godman, commemorated on our medal. The portrait of "one of the Eldred family," given in *Arch.*, xv. pl. xxxviii., is probably that of Thomas Eldred of Ipswich, though Mr. Craven Ord, F.R.S., who brought it from Olivers to exhibit to the Society of Antiquaries, 8 Apr., 1802, inclined to think it was of John Eldred of Saxham (cf. Ord Collection of Rubbings, &c., B. M. MS. 32488, 166). It represents a dignified figure of an elderly man in a ruff with a short beard, holding in his right hand a "traveller's dial" with the date 1620 (see *Granger's Biog. Hist.*, i. 248). With it was then exhibited a picture, also from Olivers, of a terrestrial globe, &c., inscribed: "Thomas Eldred went out of Plim-mouthe, 1586, July 21, and sailed about the whole globe,

and arrived againe in, Plimmouthe, the 9 of September, 1588, &c." Hakluyt (*Voyages of Thomas Cavendish*, vol. iii. p. 803) gives dates exactly agreeing with those of this inscription.

A third picture, shown to the Society of Antiquaries in 1802, was of a ship with four masts. Morant (*Hist. of Essex*, ii. 193) assigns this ship to John Eldred; Mr. Ord (*Arch.*, xv. p. 404) claims it for Thomas. With the Royal arms, the Cross of St. George, &c., the ship carries the arms of "Gernon or Candish," which suggest Thomas, who sailed with Cavendish.

A writer, under signature "Steinman Steinmann," writes from Norwood to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1837, vol. i. p. 486), that he has visited Olivers in the preceding October, and describes the house as in a "fearful state of dilapidation." Over the fireplace in the great parlour he sees the portrait above mentioned, which he assigns to Thomas Eldred; with it he notices the paintings of the globe and of the ship with four masts. He sees nine other portraits of the Eldred family in the same room, and adds that a portrait of Anne Eldred, presumably the Anne of the medal, is at Earl's Colne Priory. He gets much of his information from the then owner of the house, and his brother, the Rev. Hezekiah Harrison. His description of the room in which the pictures were is so grievous—the ceiling being "sustained by two rudely squared stems of trees placed under its beam," that I ventured to write to the present Rector of Stanway (the Rev. F. M. Hodgkinson), to enquire of the present state of Anne Eldred's old home, and the fate of the family pictures. It is satisfactory to know that the house is now in perfectly good condition, and the property of the Right Rev. Bishop Harrison, of Thorpe

Morieux Rectory, Bury St. Edmund's, late Bishop of Glasgow. Mrs. Caldwell, wife of the present lessee of Olivers, was good enough to tell me that, in 1888, the picture of the ship was removed from Olivers by Mrs. Harrison, the then owner.

Miss Ruggles-Brise, of White Hall, Colchester, writes that she had often seen the pictures at Olivers, and that they were all given by her father to Haynes Harrison, as being a nearer relation than himself. At his death they and the property went to his brother, Bishop Harrison. The bishop kindly tells me that he now has, at Thorpe Morieux, "the picture of Thomas Eldred the circumnavigator," and that there is still in Ipswich a house, with some good carved work, once the property of the Eldreds. I have tried in vain to trace the portrait of Anne which was at Earl's Colne Priory so lately as 1836. I am told that some pictures from that house were sold at Christie's some twenty years ago. The catalogue mentions a "portrait of a lady," but no identification seems possible.

Anne's husband, John Eldred, was, as we have seen, son of John of Colchester, who was the son of Thomas of Ipswich. The "Visitation of Essex," 1634 (*Harl. Soc.*, xiii. 391: Metcalfe), gives the arms of Eldred as "Az : a cross pattée fitchée, *or*, on a chief of the last three globes of the first." They were granted to John Eldred of Colchester, bailiff thereof, and one of the justices of the peace, by Sir R. St. George, Clarenceux, 14 Feb., 6 Charles I (1630). This John Eldred married Elizabeth, daughter of John Rusham, of London. She died before her husband. Their eldest son, John, is living in 1634, and married to Anna, daughter of

Thomas Godman, of Lethered, co. Surrey. He has issue by her at that date—

1. John, eldest son.
2. Godman.
3. Olivah.

In the MS. collections of David Elisha Davy (b. 1769, d. 1851; the Suffolk antiquary), in the British Museum (B. M. MSS. 19128, ff 93—130*b*), are some notes by John Eldred, son of John and Anne, from MSS. at that time in the possession of Henry Holgate Carwardine, Esq., of Earl's Colne Priory, Essex. Mrs. Probert of Bevill's, Bures, Suffolk, whose husband is descended from the Harlackendens and Wales, into both which families the Eldreds married, has also most kindly furnished me with similar notes from family papers.

Under date 1 Aug., 1649, John Eldred writes: "My brother Godman Eldred dyed at London, and was Buried at St. Swithin's Church."

The "Visitation of Essex" (Bysshe, 1664, ed. J. J. Howard, 1888) describes John Eldred, who married Anne Godman, as of "Olavers in Stannaway, co. Essex, Justice of the Peace." Their children, in 1664, were—

1. JOHN, son and heir. He is the diarist mentioned above, and writes of himself: "I was born at y^e House over against y^e King's Head, Colchester." 2 Oct., 1629. Under date 15 Dec., 1657: "I married Mrs. Margaret Harlackenden." This date is corroborated by the marriage register of Earl's Colne (where the bride had been baptized 11 June, 1635). Of this marriage the Reverend Ralph Joscelyn, or Josselyn, a puritanical divine, writes in his diary (MS. note from Mrs. Probert), under date 17 Nov., 1657, "Margaret Harlackenden laid out £120 at London ab^t wedding clothes; her Father angry."

The bride's father, Richard Harlackenden, of Earl's Colne Priory (d. 4 Sept., 1677), writes, in his diary on the wedding day (15 Dec., 1657): "I married my daughter Margaret unto John Eldred, Esq^r, the son of John Eldred, Esq^r of Stanway, in the co. of Essex, with whom I gave £2000 portion, &c., &c. My son in Law is a pritty Lawyer, a Barrister of 2 or 3 years Standing, and pleadeth. The Marriage was carried very quietly, and piously on no difference of no side, but much love and hartly entertaine, and much welcome at both houses. The Lord hath much heard and answered my prayers in this business, for I feared my daughter would have done much worse" (Probert MS. note). The Harlackendens were great Puritans; the Eldreds also seem to have been strong Parliamentarians.

Under date 27 Mar., 1665, John writes in his diary: "A stone was taken out of my bladder by cutting, and in 14 days the wound was healed."

2. THOMAS, second son.

3. EDWARD, third son. Of him John Eldred writes, February, 1683: "My brother Edward dyed at London."

4. WILLIAM, fourth son. MS. note by John Eldred, 3 May, 1701: "My brother, Wm. Eldred, dyed at Olivers, and was buried in y^e church at Stanway." There is, in the Church of St. Albright, a grave in which are buried "William Eldred of Olivers, buried 1701, and Joan his wife, buried 1696." The stone is in the floor of the church, the lettering quite distinct. St. Albright's was a wayside chapel of Saxon foundation, and has been used since 1650 as the parish church. Various members of the Eldred family were buried in old Stanway Church. When that became a ruin, in

1650, their memorials were removed to Earl's Colne Church (note by the Rector of Stanway).

1. OLIVE, eldest daughter. John Eldred notes, 20 Jan., 1697: "My sister Ollive, the widdow of Dr. Thos. Arris, dyed at St Albans, and was buried there."

Edward Arris, of London, chirurgion, father of this Thomas Arris, M.D., bought the manor of Great Munden, Herts (see Cussans, *History of Herts*, "Manor of Munden," p. 146), soon after 1620. He granted it to "Thomas Arris, his eldest son, Doctor in Physick, who died seized thereof, leaving Edward Arris his son and heir" (Chauncy, *Antiquities of Herts*, p. 341).

Thomas Arris, M.D., is mentioned as J.P. for Herts in 1661, 1662, 1670, &c. (*Herts County Records*). He excuses himself from attendance in a letter to Mr. John Chauncy in 1682, as he has the gout (*Herts County Records*, i. 322). He lived in Hall Place. He was M.P. for the borough of St. Albans in 1661 (*Herts Families*, Vict. Hist., 1907, p. 294; Clutterbuck, *History of Herts*, i. p. 53). He is one of the "Worshippeful Companie" who "garnishe" the play of "Lingua, or y^e Combatte between y^e Tongue and y^e Five Senses," played by the boys of St. Albans Grammar School, 15 Oct., 1662. This play was reproduced by the boys of the same school 13th March, 1908, under Mr. Chas. Ashdown. By a curious coincidence, the player of a minor part was "Master James Eldred," son of Mr. Eldred, of London Road, St. Albans, who has other relatives of the name still in the city.

Thomas Arris was appointed by special brief to receive contributions for the repair of St. Alban's Abbey: see Feb., 33 Car. II, 1681-2 (Clutterbuck, i. 71). The arms of Arris are: "*Argent, on a cross azure, five fleurs-de-lys*

or, impaling *gules* a fess dancettée *argent*." They are given on a tablet on the north wall of the nave of St. Peter's Church (Clutterbuck, *op. cit.*, i. 118), to the memory of Thomas Arris, son (?) of Thomas, who died in 1726, aged 74 (Cussans, *op. cit.*, p. 299, "St. Peter's Church, St. Albans"). Burke, in the *General Armory*, gives similar arms to *Arras*. Clutterbuck (i. 121) mentions a stone which was, previous to its demolition, in the north transept of St. Peter's Church. Cussans (*loc. cit.*, p. 301) says it had been removed to the floor of the south porch.

It seems to commemorate two children of Dr. Thomas Arris and Olive Eldred, named after their grandparents, John Eldred and Anne of the medal.

"Under this stone where now your eye you fix,
Anne Arris lies who di'd in '66.

Ap. 14^o. Aetat 9^o.

Peste Correpta.

John Arris after her his exit made

In '82, and here is with her layd,

Aged 8 years."

2. ELIZABETH, second daughter. Of her John Eldred writes, 10 June, 1713: "My sister Eliz. Creithild dyed and was buried at Stanway."

3. ANNE, third daughter.

4. MARY, fourth daughter. MS. note by John Eldred, 11 Mar., 1701: "My sister, Mary Colman, dyed at Lambourne."

I have seen the MSS. of both of these "Visitations" (B. M., Harl. 1432, f. 162b, and Harl. 1542, f. 182), both with the arms of Eldred of Ipswich. The globes are there drawn with less pointed and more obvious

stands than those represented on our medal, and have zodiacal signs on the equators. They are "beautified and replenished with manifold variety of Celestiall bodies, environing the Terrestrial globe," as Guillim describes it in his *Display of Heraldrie* (4th ed., 1660, p. 102). These globes doubtless refer to the voyages of Thomas Eldred. Some descriptions call them "covered cups." The contemporary drawings leave no doubt that they are "globes."

Morant (*Hist. of Essex*) is very confused in his account of the family, mixing up John of Great Saxham, son of John, and John of Colchester, son of Thomas. He makes out that John of Colchester, son of Thomas, was the collector of sequestrations in 1645. This view is followed by the editors of *Medallie Illustrations*, ed. 1885. The pedigree given by Davy (*Suffolk Coll.*) makes it to be John of Olivers, J.P., M.P., husband of Anne Godman. As John of Colchester died in 1646, aged 81, he would be very old to be appointed to the office in 1645, and it seems more likely that his son held the office. He was evidently a public man. His signature may be seen, with others, in the British Museum (MSS. Stowe, 833, f. 112) on an order for payment for assessment for Colchester, 1654.

Among the notes of John Eldred, son of Anne Godman, there occurs, under date 31 Mar., 1678: "My mother, Mrs. Anne Eldred, dyed and was buried in the Chancel at Earl's Colne." From the burial register there we learn that "Anne, wife of John Eldred, sent of Stannaway, in Essex, Esq^{re}, buried April 10, 1678."

The date for her death agrees with that of the medal. Later, under date 16 Nov., 1682, John Eldred notes: "My Father, John Eldred, Esq^{re}, dyed, and was buried

at Earl's Colne." The burial register tells us he was buried 19 Nov., 1682.

John Eldred, the diarist, had a large family, about whom he makes many notes, but they must not detain us now. A few are of special interest, *ag.*: "April 4, 1693: My daughter Mary" (who, he had previously noted, was "born and baptized at Colne Priory, Nov. 29, 1669") "was married to my cousin, John Barfoot." He was of Lincoln's Inn and Lambourne Hall, Essex. This "cousin John" would be a son of Anne's sister, Mary Godman, who, before 1639, had married John Barfoot (or Barefoot), and, as we have learnt from her mother's will, was left a widow before 1662. On 4 Aug., 1696, John Eldred writes: "My dau. Mary was delivered of a son, who dyed soon." On 17 Oct., 1697: "My daughter Mary was delivered of a son, baptized by the name of John." The writer of the article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1837, sees at Olivers a portrait of "Miss Barefoot" (evidently a daughter of Mary Eldred and John Barfoot), "afterwards Mrs. Harrison, and grandmother to the present worthy lord of the mansion."

John Eldred, the diarist, was a "councillor-at-law," and M.P. for Harwich 1688. He died 2 Sept., 1717, aged 87 years and 11 weeks, and was buried at Earl's Colne on 7 Sept. of that year. His wife, Margaret, had died in 1713. Her property, Earl's Colne Priory, Essex, has not been sold since the Reformation. Tradition says that, being Church property, it has descended through heiresses only (*i.e.* Harlackenden, Andrews, Wale, Holgate, Carwardine).

Mrs. Ralph Caldwell tells me that in 1907 she received, at Olivers, a visit from a Mr. and Mrs. John Eldred of

Sprouton, Boston, Mass. He claims to be descended from John Eldred of Olivers.

The workmanship of our medal may be rather coarse, but the general effect is good. Mr. Grueber considers the medal as peculiar in character, and possibly of Dutch origin. The designs on either side adequately fill the field. At first sight, apart from the inscription, I think one would imagine that the husband was dead and the wife the mourner, but, as we have seen, he survived her.

The motto, "A wise woman buildeth her house," adapted from Prov. xiv. 1, suggests a provident disposition on the part of the lady, and, looking at her own position as heiress, and the good marriages made by her descendants, it, no doubt, represents the truth. Such texts were in great favour in Puritan families in her day. The medal is one of a most interesting class referring to domestic events. They indicate, as in this case, a prevalence of good art in simple matters, more common some two hundred years ago than now, and the consideration of them opens chinks through which we may peep at domestic life in England in the seventeenth century.

MARIA MILLINGTON EVANS.

MISCELLANEA.

A RARE SESTERTIUS OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

ALTHOUGH only "tolerably preserved," as it is described in the Sale Catalogue of the Thomas Collection in 1844, this coin is of a type of the highest rarity as well as of great interest to British numismatists. The reverse represents the figure of Britannia treated in an entirely different manner to the varieties of the better-known types either in "large"

or "second brass." Notwithstanding this, Cohen only values it (No. 115) at 20 francs; he had probably never seen any specimen but that in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which his illustration shows to be also in poor condition, and as regards the reverse rather less perfect than my coin. There is no example in the British Museum, and although I have made careful search I can find no record of any other specimen in England than this one. It first appears, as I have said, in the Catalogue of the Thomas Collection, in 1844 (lot 2039), and is described as "a very rare type." It realized £4 18s., notwithstanding its poor condition. It was purchased by Mr. Huxtable, and at the sale of his collection, in May, 1859, it appears as lot 555, "very rare and in good condition, from the Thomas Collection." It was purchased by Mr. Webster, the dealer. Its next appearance was at the sale of the Allen Collection, in March, 1898 (lot 123), where it was with three other coins having the more usual Britannia reverse, and was purchased by Messrs. Spink for the late Mr. Mackerell, at the sale of whose collection, in May, 1906 (lot 165), it was purchased by Mr. Ready, from whom I obtained it. The coin may be described as follows:—

Obv.—Laureate and undraped bust of the Emperor to r.
ANTONINVS AVG PIVS PP TRP COS III.

Rev.—IMPERATOR II BRITA(N) across field; S. C. in exergue. Britannia seated almost facing, but looking to the r., holding a spear perpendicularly in her r. hand; her r. leg is raised and the foot rests on a rock. Her l. hand rests upon a large circular or oval shield at her side, which has a long spike in the centre, and is ornamented with radiated flutings, and a border studded with what appear to be nail-heads. The head of the figure appears to be covered by a helmet. The figure itself is entirely draped except the arms, the r. leg from the knee, and the feet which are bare. The drapery hangs in heavy folds over the r. leg above the knee and over the l. arm above the elbow.

This representation of Britannia is of special interest, owing to its strong resemblance in many respects to that on the earlier copper coins of modern England, which commence with the reign of Charles II, and it would almost appear as if a coin of this type—perhaps this very coin—may have inspired the designer of the figure of Britannia on the halfpennies and farthings of Charles II.

In *A Catalogue of Ancient British and British-Roman Coins*, by Stukeley, published in 1848, the coin of this type in the Bibliothèque Nationale is illustrated, Plate II., No. 11. Like the engraving of the same coin in Cohen, it shows it to

be in poor condition, but there are indications of the completion of the reverse legends IMPERATOR II and BRITAN. The figure of Britannia, however, is less distinct than on my coin, and the S. C. is not visible.

In Akerman's *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain*, a coin presumably of this type is illustrated and described as being in "B.M.," which it is not. The engraving looks like an improved copy of some early and inaccurate illustration of the specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The reverse legend reads IMPERATOR P.P., and the figure of Britannia has the missing portions and accessories filled in more or less to fancy or imagination. Possibly also the reference B.M. may be a misprint for the B.N. in Stukeley.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

BARCLAY HEAD TESTIMONIAL FUND.

THIS Fund, which was established in 1906 to issue a volume of Numismatic essays in honour of Mr. Head, on the occasion of his retirement from the Keepership of Coins in the British Museum, has now fulfilled its object. The volume (*Corolla Numismatica*) has now been sold out, and the Committee find that, after all expenses have been paid, there remains a balance of £109 13s. 6d.

In accordance with a unanimous resolution of the Committee, passed on April 2, 1908, and with the full approval of Mr. Head, this sum was offered to the Committee of the Oxford University Appeal Fund, of which Lord Curzon is President, on the understanding that it should form the nucleus of a fund for the encouragement of numismatics at the University of Oxford by the foundation of a Prize for Ancient Numismatics, to be associated with the name of Mr. Barclay Head. The sum has been accepted by the Oxford University Appeal Fund. We are desirous to state that further subscriptions towards this foundation will be welcomed, and may be sent either to the Secretary of the Oxford University Appeal Fund, Nigel Bond, Esq., 25, Victoria Street, London, S.W., or to G. F. Hill, Esq., British Museum, London, W.C. The prize will be the first to be established in any British University for the encouragement of the scientific study of Numismatics.

For that reason, as well as because of its association with the name of Mr. Head, to whose work all students of ancient numismatics are so deeply indebted, it is to be hoped that the prize (which will probably take the form of an award of books) may be made as valuable as possible.



RARE OR UNPUBLISHED ROMAN GOLD COINS



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ANGLO-GALLIC COINS
EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE





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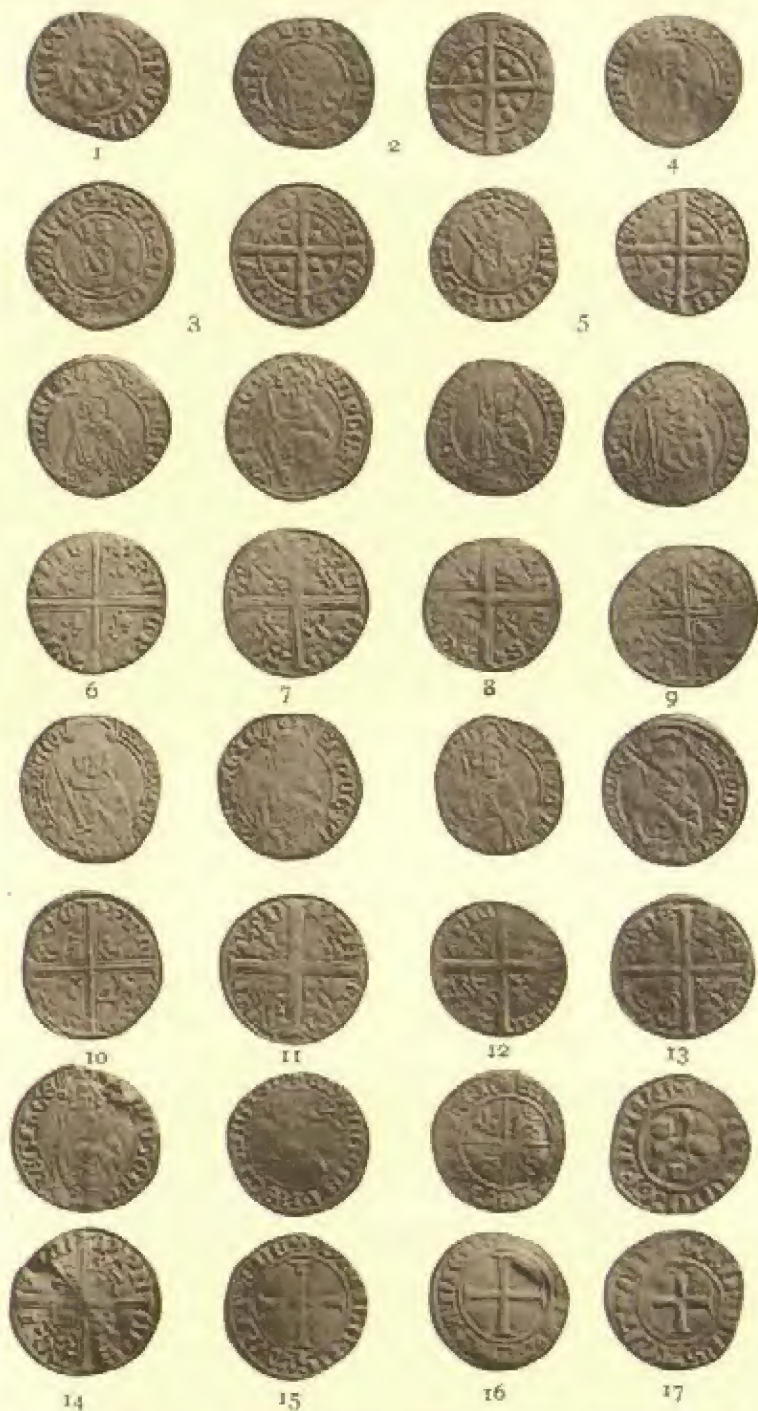


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12

ANGLO-GALLIC COINS
EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE





ANGLO-GALLIC COINS
EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE





ANGLO-GALLIC COINS
RICHARD II—HENRY IV





MEDAL OF ANNE ELDRED



VIII.

WAS THERE A PRE-MACEDONIAN MINT IN EGYPT?

It has generally been held among numismatists that, with the doubtful exception of the money said by Herodotus to have been issued by Aryandes, satrap of Egypt under Darius, no coins were struck in that country before the days of the Macedonian conquest.

And though it must not be supposed that the present writer professes to have found a rival to the ancient Egyptian ring-money, the two little coins described below seem to show that some issues bearing characteristic Egyptian features were made in the Delta before the well-known currency of Ptolemy I.

At the sale of the Delbeke Collection of Greek coins in April, 1907, I bought two small silver pieces described as "obols of Athenian type but Asiatic workmanship." One of them (No. 2) is quite unlike the usual Eastern imitations of Athenian money, and both offer besides some peculiar features on the reverse which appear to have escaped the attention of the framers of the Delbeke Catalogue.

The coins may be described as follows:—

- No. 1. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., in crested Athenian helmet, decorated in front with three olive-leaves of rough conventional form, and at side with volute, and wearing round earring and necklace.

Rev.—ΑΘΕ. Owl standing r., head facing. In field l., traces of uncertain object, probably the usual olive-spray; in field r., ☒. Clearly defined incuse square.

R. Mt. 10.50 mm. Wt. 0.48 gramme.



The coin has been struck over another, but it is impossible to say of what type.

The flan is much broader and thinner, and the relief of the obverse far lower than on similar Athenian coins, but the types and execution are clearly in close imitation of the tetradrachms and drachms of the third Athenian numismatic period—430 (or later)–322 B.C. (B. M. Cat., pp. 13–19, pl. v.). The only noticeable omission is the crescent moon on the reverse.

As pointed out by Mr. Earle-Fox, in the *Num. Chron.* for 1905, pp. 1–9, the opening of this period should be placed at least thirty years later, and carried “well on into the third century.” We therefore have 400–280 B.C. as the probable extent of the period. But the issue of tetradrachms doubtlessly ceased after the Macedonian supremacy was finally established at the close of the Lamian war (322 B.C.); and on the later drachms the head of Athena is invariably depicted with a single-drop earring instead of with the earlier round variety. The prototype of the coin under discussion, therefore, must have belonged to the first half of the fourth century. And if we take into account the well-defined nature of its incuse square, the date of the coin itself may be placed as early as 390–370 B.C., since the incuse square was a feature which tended

to disappear very quickly from the Athenian money of this class, even in the case of the tetradrachms.¹

Further signs of the non-Hellenic origin of the coin are the inscription on the reverse, which is incorrectly executed, the A being formed in a way of which no Athenian engraver could have been capable, and the symbol X . This is an object totally foreign to the domain of Greek art, but familiar enough among the Egyptian hieroglyphs. The sign which is usually transliterated *uah* has almost exactly this form.² As a rule there is one more twist used than that represented on the coin, X being the usual type, but the abbreviated one is met with also.³ Without attempting to connect it with any particular name, it is worth while mentioning here that this hieroglyph is of noticeably frequent occurrence in cartouches and signets of the latter dynasties.⁴

No. 2. *Obv.*—Lion's head r., of sketchy though forcible style, the mouth open, and a curious horn-like excrescence on the nose, possibly intended to represent feline whiskers.

Rev.—Owl standing r., head facing. In field l., olive-spray, consisting of two leaves and berry; in field r., Q . Clearly defined incuse square.

R. Mt. 10.75 mm. Wt. 0.395 gramme.



¹ In his article on "Le Satrape Mazaios," in *Nouv. Chron.*, 1884, p. 101, M. J. E. Sire says, "Cela (le carré creux) nous reporterait aux premières années du siècle" (4^e), although later on he quotes instances of its being used archaistically.

² Budge, *The Nile*, p. 64, "Trees and Plants."

³ Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. xxxviii. 19, and pl. xliii. 19.

⁴ Newberry, *Scarabs*, pl. xxxvii. 22 and 23, belonging to the twenty-fourth dynasty; and pl. xxxviii. 10, 11, 14, and 19, belonging to the twenty-sixth dynasty.

In this case also the flan is broad and thin, and the style of the reverse is identical with that of No. 1. In fact, the fabric and general appearance of the two coins are so similar that it is impossible not to presume a common origin for both of them. The remarks already made as to date apply here as well.

The weights of both, as will be observed, are very low for Attic or even Phoenician obols. They might, perhaps, be described with a greater show of accuracy as Attic tritemoria; but, as the standard is uncertain, the question of denomination is best left alone. The head on the obverse of the present piece is more like that of a lion than of any other beast, although the treatment is most unusual in this class of work.

As in the previous coin, however, the interest here centres in the symbol on the reverse, which clearly represents an Egyptian cartouche. By a curious coincidence, the enclosed hieroglyphs have been partially erased—a not uncommon end to the history of many a cartouche on more important monuments—and the fine condition of the rest of the coin, which is practically in mint state, accentuates the difference. The consequence is that, unfortunately, the characters cannot be read with certainty. At first sight, the most prominent hieroglyph might be taken for that known as the fore-leg of a cow, which is read *nem*,⁵ and occurs in the praenomen or throne-name of Necho II of the twenty-sixth dynasty. But such an hypothesis would take us back to the end of the seventh century B.C., which is out of the question.

Mr. H. R. Hall, of the Egyptian Department of the

⁵ Budge, *The Nile*, p. 63, "Limbs, etc., of Animals."

British Museum, to whom I am indebted for the suggestion, thinks that the hieroglyphs might possibly represent the throne-name of Haker or Achoris, the second Pharaoh of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned for thirteen years out of the twenty-two during which the dynasty lasted (399-378 B.C.).

In default of this interpretation the hieroglyphs must be looked upon as fanciful, and can have no serious meaning, since none of the other names which one would expect to find in a royal cartouche, and whose dates correspond to the period 399-340 B.C., bear the slightest resemblance to what we can faintly see on the coin.

These two little coins once formed part of the Photiades Pasha Collection, which was sold in Paris in 1890 (lots 572 and 573 of catalogue).

From the catalogue of the sale it appears that they were found in Sicily, with others of a similar character. Besides the two figured above, eight more of the type of No. 1, and one of still smaller size (lot 578), weighing 0.10 gramme, but with the same symbol, were disposed of at the same time. Their present owner cannot be traced.

This Sicilian source need not raise any doubt as to the probable Egyptian origin of the coins, since there was constant intercourse between Sicily and the Peloponnesus during the tyranny of the elder Dionysius (405-367 B.C.) and his alliance with Sparta. The latter state was equally closely connected with Egypt, being continually engaged in furnishing leaders and bodies of troops to support Nektanebo I and his successors against the Persians, so that money must have passed from Sicily to Egypt and back again.

Further proof, too, of direct communication between

Sicily and the East is afforded by the fact that some of the coins of Cilicia and Syria, and even of Gaza, under Pharnabazus and Tarcamos, bear on the obverse a three-quarter, and sometimes a full-faced female head, evidently copied from Kimon's famous tetradrachms of Syracuse with the similar head of Arethusa.⁶

From the evidence of the hoards which have been found from time to time in the Delta, it would appear that Athenian money circulated in Egypt in increasingly large quantities from the end of the sixth to about the middle of the fourth century B.C.

As will be seen from the list of the hitherto recorded finds given below, specimens of the true archaic period are rare, especially when compared with the numbers of contemporary coins of other mints such as Lete, Neapolis of Macedon, Aegina, Corinth, &c.; those of the refined archaic period are moderately rare; while those of class iii. of the B. M. Catalogue, with the eye of Athena in profile, are plentiful.

In 1885 Professor Petrie collected together 80 Athenian tetradrachms from different points on the site of Naukratis, including 1 of class i., 67 of class ii., and 12 of class iii.⁷

About the year 1887 a small hoard of coins was unearthed "somewhere in the Delta," which included a few specimens of the rude archaic Athenian tetradrachms.⁸ The actual number has not been recorded, but it is believed to be three.

⁶ J. P. Six, "Le Satrape Mazaios," *Num. Chron.*, 1884, p. 124, and Pl. v. 6 and 8.

⁷ "Coins discovered on the Site of Naukratis," by Dr. B. V. Head, in *Num. Chron.* for 1886, pp. 1-18.

⁸ "On a Find of Archaic Greek Coins in Egypt," by Canon Greenwell,

In December, 1903, about 700 Athenian tetradrachms were found at Tel-el-Athrib, belonging for the most part to class iii.⁹

All the pieces found appear to be tetradrachms, no drachms or smaller divisions being reported in the accounts which we have of the hoards.

Besides these cases of the occurrence of true Athenian money in Egypt, specimens of some of its various Eastern imitations have also been found there.¹⁰

Of the imitations in question those which bear most closely on the present subject are—

1. The issues of Mazaïos, who, when satrap of Babylon (332-1 B.C.), struck tetradrachms, drachms, and even fractions of drachms, in close imitation of the Athenian fourth-century coinage,¹¹ but with the addition of his name on the reverse in Aramaean characters.

2. The similar coins with inscriptions, also in Aramaean characters, which have given rise to such widely different interpretations as Sabaces and Socha.¹²

In whatever way the crabbed letters may be read, however, there can be no doubt that the coins bearing them form a similar group to those struck by Mazaïos. In other words, they must have belonged to a satrapal issue for the purpose of paying Greek or other mercenary

Num. Chron., 1890, pp. 1-12; and "Finds of Archaic Greek Coins in Lower Egypt," by Dr. Hermann Weber, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, pp. 269-287.

⁹ Σφραγῖς Ἀθηναίων Τετραδράχμων, by J. Svoronos, in *Corolla Num.*, p. 287.

¹⁰ "Sabacès, Satrape d'Egypte," by J. P. Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1888, p. 133.

¹¹ Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 616; and "Le Satrape Mazaïos," by J. P. Six, *Num. Chron.*, 1884, pp. 140, 141.

¹² J. P. Six, "Sabacès, Satrape d'Egypte," in *Num. Chron.*, 1888, pp. 132-137; and "Cyrrestique," *Num. Chron.*, 1895, pp. 206-210.

troops during the early part of the second half of the fourth century.

During a visit to Egypt last winter, I was shown five tetradrachms belonging to this latter class, which for want of a better description we may call the Sabaces type.¹³ They were all that had been saved out of a hoard of some sixty similar pieces found at Samanoud in the Delta, and I believe that they have not yet been published. The bulk of the hoard was melted down by the peasants who found it before the Cairo dealers heard of the discovery.

Although the presence of these various coins in Egypt seems to have always been satisfactorily reconciled with the theory that no mint was established there before the Macedonian conquest, there has not yet been any direct evidence in support of this. All is negative so far. On the other hand, we know from the discovery of the silversmith's hoard at Naukratis, that silver was imported into Egypt in ingots as well as in specie,¹⁴ or, if not in actual ingots, that the coins imported were melted down so as to provide a stock of the metal in the crude state. This at least shows that the absence of silver-mines in the country was no real deterrent, as has been said, to the coining of money by the Egyptians. Then all the political conditions at the beginning of the fourth century were in favour of the establishment of autonomous mints. They were springing up in all directions. We have seen how the Persian satraps struck their own money about this time, independently of the Great King, and even

¹³ See *Num. Chron.*, 1895, Pl. vii. 12.

¹⁴ Head, "Coins discovered on the Site of Naukratis," *Num. Chron.*, 1886, p. 4.

semi-barbarous districts like Arabia Felix¹⁵ instituted a coinage in imitation of the ubiquitous Athenian "owls."

The Persian dominion in Egypt, which lasted with short intervals of revolt from 527 B.C. to 399 B.C., had just been overthrown for the time being, and the country was enjoying its last brief period of independence.

The land, too, was full of Greek mercenaries. Large reservations to the south of Bubastis had been made over to them since the days of Amasis, and they played a most important part in the events which led up to the extinction of the last native Egyptian dynasty in 340 B.C.

These men may have been paid in imported Athenian money, but it is equally possible that the die for an Athenian tetradrachm, which was recently found at Tel-el-Athrib,¹⁶ was part of the equipment of an Egyptian mint, and not, as M. Svoronos supposes, an object stolen from Athens for the purpose of striking false coins in Egypt.

If this were the case, and if an Egyptian mint did exist during the first half of the fourth century B.C., under the twenty-ninth and thirtieth dynasties, the small coins here described may have been part of a local currency struck for internal trade only, as was frequently done at this period.¹⁷

Countermarks on the coins of Ptolemaic Egypt are such a well-recognized feature, that it seems almost necessary to try to account for their absence in the present case, especially as the 700 odd tetradrachms of

¹⁵ Head, *Hist. Num.*, pp. 687, 688.

¹⁶ J. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, in *Corolla Numismatica*.

¹⁷ See Earle-Fox, "Some Athenian Problems," *Num. Chron.*, 1905, p. 4, for the occurrence of this practice at Athens.

the Tel-el-Athrib find were almost all countermarked.¹⁸ It is fair to assume, however, that at the comparatively early date suggested the money-changers had not yet felt the necessity of protecting themselves against forgery.

Who else but the Egyptians themselves can have placed Egyptian symbols on their money? The *crook and flail of Osiris* on the early coinage of Tyre, and the *crux ansata* on that of Salamis in Cyprus, and on some of the issues of Mazaños and Tarcamos already alluded to, are hardly parallel cases. These symbols, even if they were exclusively Egyptian, were widely known and understood; but it is almost inconceivable that a cartouche can have been honestly used by any one but a native Egyptian.

To sum up, then, we have two small silver coins probably struck some time between 390 and 350 B.C. with types characteristic of contemporary Athenian money, but bearing in addition symbols peculiar to Egyptian art. The period was one when the popularity and reputation of Athenian money were at their height, so that the rulers of the different south-western portions of the Persian empire, which were in constant revolt—Syrians, Phoenicians, and Arabs—took the “owls” for models when designing their own coinage. Egypt, although in successful revolt herself at this very time, has always been considered an exception in this movement, because no distinctively Egyptian coins have been met with, and because so much apparently genuine Athenian money and satrapal issues in imitation of it have actually been found in the country.

¹⁸ J. Svoronos, *op. cit.*, in *Cor. Num.*, p. 293.

But now one of the very few ancient dies known has been unearthed in Egypt, and coins bearing Egyptian hieroglyphs of a strictly local character have also appeared.

The case cannot be said to be proved, but it looks as if we must be prepared to revise our ideas with regard to the beginnings of coined money in Egypt.

In conclusion, I wish to thank Messrs. W. W. Wroth and G. F. Hill of the Coin and Medal Department, and Mr. H. R. Hall of the Egyptian Department, of the British Museum, for the help they have so readily afforded me in the preparation of this paper.

J. MAVROGORDATO.

The condition of the coins from the Brooklands hoard is, on the average, fair; but practically all traces of the tinging with silver, to which these coins were subjected before issue, have disappeared.

The following obverses are found :—

DIOCLETIAN.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| A a | IMPCDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG | Bust r., cuirassed and laureate. | | |
| b | IMPDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| c | IMPDIOCLETIANVSPAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| d | IMPDIOCLETIANVSAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| B d | IMPDIOCLETIANVSAVG | Bust l., | " | " [? hand holding spear]. |
| C a | IMPCDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG | Undraped bust r., laureate. | | |
| b | IMPDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG | | " | " |
| c | IMPDIOCLETIANVSPAVG | | " | " |
| d | IMPDIOCLETIANVSAVG | | " | " |
| D b | IMPDIOCLETIANVSPFAVG | Undraped bust l., laureate. | | |

MAXIMIAN.

- | | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| A a | IMPCMAXIMIANVSPFAVG | Bust r., cuirassed and laureate. | | |
| a ² | IMPCMAXIMIANVSAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| b | IMPMAXIMIANVSPFAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| c | IMPMAXIMIANVSPAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| d | IMPMAXIMIANVSAVG | Bust r., | " | " |
| B b | IMPMAXIMIANVSPFAVG | Bust l., | " | " |
| C a | IMPCMAXIMIANVSPFAVG | Undraped bust r., laureate. | | |
| b | IMPMAXIMIANVSPFAVG | | " | " |
| c | IMPMAXIMIANVSPAVG | | " | " |
| d | IMPMAXIMIANVSAVG | | " | " |

CONSTANTIUS.

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|---|---|
| A a | FLVALCONSTANTIVSNOBC | Bust r., cuirassed and laureate. | | |
| b | CONSTANTIVSNOBILC | Bust r., | " | " |
| d | CONSTANTIVSNOBC | Bust r., | " | " |
| D d | CONSTANTIVSNOBC | Bust l., | " | " |
| C a | FLVALCONSTANTIVSNOBC | Undraped bust r., laureate. | | |
| b | CONSTANTIVSNOBILC | | " | " |
| c | CONSTANTIVSNOBCAES ² | | " | " |
| E c | CONSTANTIVSNOBCAES | Bust l., cuirassed and helmeted, hand holding spear. | | |

² On one specimen $\left(\frac{A}{TR} \mid \Gamma\right)$, below bust, II.

GALERIUS.

A a	OVALMAXIMIANVSNOBC	Bust r., cuirassed and laureate.
a ²	MAXIMIANVSNOBILCAESAR	Bust r., " "
b	MAXIMIANVSNOBILC	Bust r., " "
c	MAXIMIANVSNOBGAES	Bust r., " "
d	MAXIMIANVSNOC	Bust r., " "
B c	MAXIMIANVSNOBGAES	Bust l., " "
C a	CVALMAXIMIANVSNOBC	Undraped bust r., laureate.
b	MAXIMIANVSNOBILC	" " "
c	MAXIMIANVSNOBGAES	" " "
D a	MAXIMIANVSNOBILCAES	Undraped bust l., laureate.
c	MAXIMIANVSNOBGAES	" " "

The careful noting of the variations in the obverse type and legend,^a tedious though it may seem, is necessary; for there is no doubt that these variations were deliberate. It is noticeable, for instance, that the variety which I have marked as C a in the case of Diocletian and Maximian is not found at Trier,^b though it is at many other mints. A full analysis of the available material would probably reveal the existence of many other rules of the same kind.

Mint: LONDON.

Rev.—GENIOPOPV LIROMANI The Genius of the Roman People, standing l., sacrificing.

Without m.-mark.	Diocletian, A a (7)	. . . . .	7
	Maximian, A a (3), A b (2)	. . . . .	5
	Constantius, A a (3), A b (1), A d (3), C a (2)	. . . . .	9
	Galerius, A a (1), A b (2), A c (4)	. . . . .	7
LON	Diocletian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
	Constantius, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
	Total of London	. . . . .	30

^a In the description, the letters attached to the names of the rulers refer to the above list of obverses. The conjectural dates given under Trier are those of Heitner (*Westdeutsche Zeitschr.*, vi. pp. 141 f.).

^b Not, that is to say, on any of the coins in this hoard or in the British Museum Collection.

Mint: TRIER.

Rev.—GENIOPOPV LIROMANI The Genius of the Roman
People standing l., sacrificing.

296/7 A.D.?

$\frac{A}{TR}$	Diocletian, C b (1?), C d (2)	3
	Maximian, C d (1)	1
$\frac{B}{TR}$	Galerius, D c (1)	1
$\frac{C}{TR}$	Diocletian, C b (1)	1

297 A.D.

$\frac{A}{TR}$	Diocletian, C b (1), C c (2), C d (1)	4
	Maximian, C c (1)	1
	Constantius, C b (1), C c (5, on one of which II under bust on obverse)	6
	Galerius, C c (1)	1
$\frac{B}{TR}$	Diocletian, C b (1), D b (1)	2
	Maximian, C b (1)	1
	Galerius, C b (1), C c (3)	4
$\frac{C}{TR}$	Maximian, C c (1)	1

298 A.D. (?)

$\frac{A}{TR}$	Diocletian, A b (1), A d (1), C b (1), C c (1)	4
	Maximian, A b (1), A d (1), B b (1), C b (1), C d (1)	5
	Constantius, C b (1)	1
	Galerius, D a (1)	1
$\frac{B}{TR}$	Diocletian, A b (2), C c (1)	3
	Maximian, C b (1)	1
	Constantius, C a (1)	1
	Galerius, D c (1)	1

Before May, 305, to after summer, 306.

$\frac{S}{PTR}$	Diocletian, A c (1), A d (3)	4
	Maximian, A d (1)	1
	Constantius, A d (1)	1
	Galerius, A b (1)	1
$\frac{S}{ITR}$	Diocletian, A c (1), A d (3)	4
	Galerius, A b (3), A c (1)	4

$\frac{S}{I} \frac{F}{TR}$	Constantius, A b (2)	. . . . .	2
	Galerius, A b (3)	. . . . .	3
$\frac{S}{TR} \frac{F}{TR}$	Constantius, A b (1)	. . . . .	1

Rev.—Moneta standing, with scales.

Inscription: (α) MSACRAAVGGETCAESSNN

(β) MONETASACRAAVGGETCAESSNN

(γ) MONETAS·AVGGETCAESSNN

About 299, or later.

$\frac{|}{ATR} *$	and inscr. (α) Diocletian, A b (2); Galerius, A a ² (1)	. . . . .	3
$\frac{|}{BTR} *$	and inscr. (β) Galerius, A c (1)	. . . . .	1
$\frac{|}{ITR} *$	and inscr. (γ) Maximian, A b (1)	. . . . .	1

Before May, 305, to after summer, 306.

$\frac{S}{I} \frac{F}{TR}$	and inscr. (γ) Diocletian, A b (1)	. . . . .	1
	Maximian, A b (2)	. . . . .	2
	Constantius, A a (1)	. . . . .	1

Rev.—Fortuna Redux.

Inscr.: FORTVNAEREDVCIAVGNN

About 299, or later.

$\frac{|}{BTR} *$	Galerius, A c (1), C b (1)	. . . . .	2
Total of Trier			75

Mint: LYON.

Rev.—GENIOPOPV LIROMANI The Genius of the Roman People standing L, sacrificing.

$\frac{|}{PLA}$	Diocletian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
$\frac{|}{LA}$	Diocletian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
	Maximian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
$\frac{|}{LB}$	Diocletian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
	Constantius, C c (2, of which 1 with CONSTASTIVS)	. . . . .	2
	Galerius, C a (1)	. . . . .	1
$\frac{A}{LP}$	Maximian, C a (1)	. . . . .	1

Mint: SISCIA.

Rev.—GENIO, etc. Genius l.

$\frac{1}{A}$	Diocletian, C a (1)	1
*SIS		

Mint: CARTHAGE.

Rev.—SALVISAVGGETCAESSFELKART . . . Female figure standing, holding fruit in each hand.

$\frac{1}{B}$	Maximian, C b (1)	1
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Total of Carthage	1
" Siscia	1
" Rome	2
" Tarraco	6
" Lyon	22
" Trier	75
" London	30

187

II. SILVER COINS OF THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY, FROM ICKLINGHAM, SUFFOLK.

The silver coins described below were part of a miscellaneous collection shown to me in May, 1907. They came from a hoard which was dug up at Icklingham, in Suffolk, many years ago. With them was a list giving the numbers of the coins of each Emperor as follows: "Jovianus, 1; Constantius II, 1; Valens, 72; Eugenius, 10; Theodosius, 53; Arcadius, 47; Gratianus, 39; Julianus, 11; Honorius, 21; Valentinian I, 26; Magnus Maximus, 46; Valentinian II, 9; Victor, 1; (Total), 337."

As appears from the list which I give, 19 of the original number are missing, among them the coin of Constantius II. My classification of the Emperors, even allowing for the loss of 19 coins, differs considerably from that made by the original owner.

It is impossible at the present time to say whether the 337 coins represented the whole hoard; but it seems, nevertheless, quite worth while to put what is ascertainable on record. The condition of the coins is not quite so good as that of the coins from Grovely Wood, recently described in these pages (1906, pp. 329 f.), and many of them seem to have been clipped. The proportion of coins on which the mint is not to be made out is thus rather large (11 out of 318). The coins cover almost exactly the same period as those from Grovely Wood, and in the list below I have used the same conventions to describe types and legends as will be found on pp. 330 f. of the description of the Grovely Wood coins. I note merely that in the case of the obverse inscriptions, there are varieties (called *a bis*) in the case of Gratianus and Theodosius, the AV of AVG being in monogram, and that the ϵ type of Julianus is sometimes beardless. The types present at Grovely Wood but missing here are A (which may, of course, have been the type of the missing coin of Constantius II), B², B⁴, C, and E². As regards distribution amongst the mints, there is the same remarkable preponderance in favour of Trier (Grovely Wood, 212 out of 299; present hoard, 210 out of 318); but Milan is more strongly represented here than at Grovely Wood. This is due to the fact that all the 11 coins of Honorius (absent from Grovely Wood) and 19 out of the 43 of Arcadius are of the Milan mint. The Eastern mints, with the

possible exception of Constantinople,¹⁰ are unrepresented. Generally speaking, however, the two hoards are very similar in character, and I need add nothing to the remarks made on the Grovely Wood hoard. Nor, as the condition of the coins is not first-rate, have I thought it worth while to record their weights.

In connexion with the numerous finds of coins in England dating from the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, Professor Oman calls my attention to a passage in the A.-S. Chronicle, under the year 418, stating that in this year the Romans gathered together all the treasure ("gold hord") that they had in Britain, and some they buried so that no man might find it again, and some they carried away with them to Gaul. "Gold hord" must, I think, be taken in the sense of money treasure generally, not gold in particular.

¹⁰ I have placed the coin of Theodosius with the mint-mark CONS. under Constantinople, in accordance with De Salis's arrangement as represented in the British Museum cabinet.

ICKLINGHAM HOARD: ANALYSIS.

Types.	IVLIANVS		IOVIANVS		VALENTI- NIANVS I		VALENS		GRATI- ANVS		VALENTINI- ANVS II				THEODOSIVS					MAGNVS MAXIMVS		FLAVIVS VICTOR		EUGENIVS		ARCA- DIVS				HONO- RIVS		Totals.
	B	B ²	B ^a	B ^a	D	B ^a	D	B ^a	D	B ²	D	E	G	H	D	F	G	H	G	G	D	H	B ^a	D	H	B ^a	D	H	B ^a	H		
Treviri .					2		63		26	8		1	4		7		2	3	3	24	41			1	19						210	
Lugdunum.	7	2	1																				1							24		
Arelate .	1	9														1					3									10		
Mediolanum														1					2	1	1	2		17	1	10				36		
Roma .			1	1	4		4	1																						11		
Aquileia .							3	1		3				2					2		3									14		
Siscia .									1																					1		
Constanti- nopolis					1								1																	1		
Uncertain .																	1				2		3							11		
Totals .	8	11	1	1	5	67	30	9	1	13	5	3	7		1	3	4	5	27	47	1	2	2	36	1	10				318		

LIST OF COINS FROM THE ICKLINGHAM HOARD.
AUGUSTA TREVIRORVM.

Emperor.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Mint-mark.	No.	Total.
Valentinianus I (364-375)	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS.	2	
Valens (364-378)	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS	7	
	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS.	47	
	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS or	8	
			TRPS.		
(barbarous: cast).	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS (blundered)	1	
Gratianus (367-383).	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS	1	
	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS.	17	
	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS or	4	
			TRPS.		
	<i>a bis</i>	D	TRPS.	4	
	<i>a</i>	G	TRPS	7	
	<i>a</i>	G	TRPS or	1	
			TRPS.		
Valentinianus II (375-392)	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS	1	
	<i>a</i>	E	TRPS	2	
	<i>a bis</i>	E	TRPS	2	
	<i>β</i>	H	TRPS	7	
Theodosius (379-395)	<i>a bis</i>	D	TRPS	2	
	<i>a</i>	F	TRPS	3	
	<i>a bis</i>	G	TRPS	3	
	<i>a</i>	H	TRPS	24	
Magnus Maximus (383-388)	<i>a</i>	G	TRPS	41	
Eugenius (392-394).	<i>a</i>	H	TRPS	6	
Arcadius (383-408).	<i>a</i>	D	TRPS	1	
	<i>a</i>	H	TRPS	19	
					210

LUGDUNUM.

Julianus (360-363)	<i>β</i>	B	LVG	6	
	<i>β</i>	B	SLVG	1	
	<i>ε</i>	B ²	PLVG	1	
	(beardless)				
	<i>β</i>	B ²	SLVG	1	
Valentinianus I	<i>a</i>	D	SLVG	1	
Valentinianus II	<i>β</i>	D	LVGPS	7	
	<i>β</i>	D	LVG-	2	
Theodosius	<i>a</i>	D	LVGPS	1	
Eugenius	<i>a</i>	D	LVGPS	3	
Arcadius	<i>a</i>	D	LVGPS	1	
					24

ARELATE.

Emperor.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Mint-mark.	No.	Total.
Julianus. . .	γ	B	SCON	1	10
	ε	B ^z	PCONST	2	
	ε	B ^z	SCONST	5	
	ε	B ^z	TCONST	2	

MEDIOLANUM.

Valentinianus II . .	β	G	MDPS	1	36
Theodosius . . .	α	H	MDPS	2	
Magnus Maximus . .	α	G	MDPS	1	
Flavius Victor. . .	α	G	MDPS	1	
Eugenius . . .	α	H	MDPS	1	
Arcadius. . .	α	B ^a	MDPS	2	
Arcadius. . .	α	H	MDPS	17	
Honorius (393-425) .	α	B ^a	MDPS	1	
	α	H	MDPS	10	

ROMA.

Valentinianus I . .	α	B ^a	RT	1	11
	α	D	RQ	1	
Valens . . .	α	{ B ^a (MV-LT) }	RP or RB	1	
	α	{ B ^a (1 with MV-LT) }	RB	2	
	α	{ B ^a (MV-LT) }	RT	1	
Gratianus . . .	α	D	RP	1	
	α	D	RQ	3	
	α	D	R*ε	1	

AQUILEIA.

Gratianus . . .	α	D	AQPS.	3	14
	α	G	AQPS	1	
Valentinianus II . .	α	D	AQPS. | *	3	
	β	G	AQPS.	2	
Theodosius . . .	α	G	AQPS	2	
Magnus Maximus . .	α	G	AQPS	3	

SISCIA.

Emperor.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Mint-mark.	No.	Total.
Valentinianus II .	β	B ²	SISCP ²	1	1

CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Theodosius . .	α	B ²	CONS.	1	1
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UNCERTAIN MINTS.

Joviana . .	α	B ²	?	1	11
Valentinianus I .	α	D	?	1	
Valens . .	α	E ²	?	1	
Valentinianus II .	α	E	?	1	
Theodosius . .	α	F	?	1	
	α	H	?	1	318
Magnus Maximus .	α	G	?	2	
Arcadius . .	α	H	?	3	

G. F. HILL.

X.

THE COINS OF ECGBEORHT AND HIS SON ATHELSTAN.

(See Plates XVI.-XVIII.)

SOME time ago you permitted me to present a paper to the Society on the life and coinage of Ecgbeorht, the famous West Saxon king. I wish to supplement that paper by another, carrying my story somewhat further. The principal conclusions of my former paper have been accepted by those who have the greatest right to speak on the Anglo-Saxon period.

My first contention was that Ecgbeorht did not in any way belong to the old race of West Saxon kings, but was a scion of the Kentish royal family and the son of an Ealhmund, King of Kent.

Secondly, I identified the Ecgbeorht, the later King of Wessex, with the Ecgbeorht who struck coins in Kent at the end of the eighth century. On this important numismatic issue I should like to enlarge at somewhat greater length. The question has been somewhat sophisticated by that constant pitfall in all inquiries into Anglo-Saxon history, namely, the spuriousness of some of the charters, and this difficulty is especially embarrassing in the present case.

The first time an Ecgbeorht, King of Kent, is mentioned at this period is in a charter dated in 765 (Kemble,

C. D., cxiii.; Birch, vol. i. p. 278), and extant in a professed copy only, in the so-called "Textus Roffensis." Although Kemble does not mark this charter as spurious, it seems to me, like some other copies of charters in that volume, to bear every mark of being so. In the first place, neither indiction nor month nor day is given in the dating clause, but merely the year, which is hardly likely or possible in a genuine charter. Secondly, the whole phraseology of the charter is very peculiar and rhetorical, and different from that of genuine charters. Thirdly, the Archbishop is made to sign his name as Gengberhtus. His signature on genuine charters is Jaenberht. Fourthly, which is the critical matter, the rest of the signatures are all artificial and spurious. Only one of them has any qualifying title, namely, Badenoth, who signs as "episcopus." Who can such a person be? The grant is by a King of Kent, whose only bishop would be the Bishop of Rochester, but the Bishop of Rochester at the time was Eardulf, to whom the grant was made, and who wrote a letter as Bishop of Rochester this very year to Lullus, Archbishop of Mainz, published by Jaffé, *Epistles of Boniface*, No. 120. Haddan and Stubbs say of the signature that it belongs to an unknown person, "the only bishop of that name belonging, *if indeed he ever existed*, to the next century" (see *A. S.*, i. 331; Haddan and Stubbs, *C. and E. D.*, &c., iii. 403, note). We must therefore treat the signature of Bishop Badenoth as spurious. The rest of the signatures are evidently a concocted list, and consist in part of duplicated names, such as Uban and Udan, Uuilheri and Uualhardi, without any qualifying titles, which is most unusual. Lastly, in 765, Eardulf was King of Kent,

and not Ecgbeorht (see the letter to Lullus, above quoted).

Several of the witnesses to this charter, which I have described as a concocted list, appear again, but in a different order, in another charter dated in 778, that is, thirteen years after the previous one, and professing to be a grant also by Ecgbeorht, King of Kent, of certain lands known as Bromgeheg to Diora, Bishop of Rochester (Birch, *op. cit.*, i. p. 317). I will put the two lists of names side by side—

Charter of 765.	Charter of 778.
Eggeberhtus Rex Cantiae.	Eggeberhtus rex Cant.
Gengberhtus×× Archiep.×××	Jaenberhtus.
Badenoth episc.	Escuuald, presbiter.
Uban.	Uban.
Udan.	Boban.
Aldhun.	Uualhard.
Uuilheri.	Ubban.
Uualhardi.	Aldhun.
Tymbel.	Sigired.
Coenberht.	Esni.
Balhhard.	Eaniardi.
Aethelnod.	

It will be seen that, although the charters are professedly thirteen years apart, yet several of the attesting witnesses are the same and have the same unsatisfactory look, since none of them have their qualifying titles.

On the other hand, if we compare this grant to Diora in 778 with a second one to him in 779 (Birch, i. p. 319), only two names are the same. The list of signatures in this second charter of 779 seems to be equally suspicious. None of the names are qualified, and among the nine witnesses we find

Boba and Bubba, while Balthard is repeated twice, and the King signs "Ego Ecgberhtus donator"!!! None of the grants to Diora give either the indiction or the day of the month. The charter of 778 is signed at "*Civitas Doroverni*." In the second charter, that of 779, we have the phrase "*in civitate supradicta*," which can only refer to the other charter, since no town is mentioned in the body of it. This is an impossible phrase in an original document. It seems to me that both these charters, like the previous one, are false. This is confirmed by another obviously false charter (Birch, vol. i. p. 336), in which Ethelbert, "King of the West Saxons and the Cantauuarii"—by whom only Ethelbert, the son of Ethelwulf, who mounted the throne in 858, can be meant—professes in 781! to make a grant of lands to the same Diora, Bishop of Rochester, which is attested by Geanberht (*sic*) Archbishop of Canterbury, by Diora the bishop, and by *Ualhard*, *Uban*, *Udan*, Ealdhere, Dudec, and Wullaf, that is, by three of the signatories to the deed of 765; while two others, Dudec and Wullaf, occur together on a charter of Ethelwulf. All these grants to Bishop Diora seem, therefore, to be clearly false. They do not complete the list of forgeries. In a fifth document, which is undated and is placed by Mr. Birch between 765 and 791 (*op. cit.*, vol. i. p. 363), Egeberht, King of Kent, proposes to make a grant of lands at Halling on the Medway in Kent to Bishop Diora. This is also professedly signed by "Heaberht the King," and among the other signatories are Udan, Balthard, and Uban, which names I have already criticized. This document without date or place of signature, and with some of the *same* signatories as the charters already referred to, is clearly one of the class

already named. I may add that none of these documents mentions the Mercian king, who was then lord-paramount, while Ecgbearht's name is spelt in three of them Egcbertht. All these grants, therefore, to Bishop Diora must be taken as false, and they were probably the handiwork of one falsifier.

A charter given by Birch (vol. i. 294), and dated in 772, professes to convey certain lands in Sussex to a Bishop Osuald. This grant is signed by "Ecberht Rex Cantu." No such name as Osuald occurs in the list of Bishops of Sussex given by Florence of Worcester, who does give a Bishop Osa. The name Osuald has apparently been duplicated from the name of another Osuald, who occurs among the witnesses as "dux Suthsax." A Bishop Osa occurs among the witnesses to Sussex charters, and in one instance is styled "archbishop"! Another very material witness to this charter is a certain "Regbert episcopus," of whom we know nothing. The suggestion that it means Wighehus, Bishop of London, only makes the spuriousness of the charter more obvious.

I have still another document to consider, in which Ecgbearht appears as a grantor. This is dated in 773, and professes to convey lands at Sandtun, near West Hythe, in Kent, and salt-works near the river Limene, in the Andredes Wood, to Dunna, the Abbess of Lyminge. In this document Ecgbearht calls himself "*rex Cantie necnon et aliarum gentium*," which would be an impossible description of him before 825. Among the signatories is Archbishop Cialnoth, who did not become archbishop till 832; of Beormod, Bishop of Rochester, 804?-842; Alhstan, Bishop of Sherborne, 824-circ. 862; and Coenred, Bishop of Selsey from 820 to 843; so that, if the charter is a copy of a genuine one, we must

alter the date. It has been so altered, by Birch and by Haddan and Stubbs, to 833. Why, however, Ecgbeorht should style himself King of Kent in 833 does not appear.

This completes the analysis of the various charters which have been assigned to an Ecgbeorht, King of Kent, between 765 and 779, and it seems inevitable that they must all be given up as spurious or altered.

With them disappears all the diplomatic evidence for the doings of an Ecgbeorht, King of Kent, in the latter part of the eighth century.

The only evidence, therefore, of Ecgbeorht having been King of Kent is that of the coins. This does away with many difficulties, for if he had been king in 765 or 772, it would be difficult to make his life extend as king to 839; while it is also difficult to see how he could have reigned in those years if he was the son of Ealhmund, who makes a grant as King of Kent in 784.

It is from the coins, and the coins alone, that we can gather with any precision when Ecgbeorht reigned as King of Kent. Only two types of these early coins of Ecgbeorht are known [Pl. XVI. 1, 2]. The obverse in each case is the same, namely, the monogram R for "Rex" in the centre, and round it, between two circles, EGCBERHT. This obverse, according to Lord Grantley, is ultimately taken from the pennies of Pepin, 752-765. He also pointed out that the monogram exists on coins of Offa (see *Cat. Eng. Coins B. M.*, i. pl. v. 11, 13; vi. 12; vii. 2, 5). It also has a close analogy with that on some of the coins of Archbishop Aethelheard (793-805) with the monogram \overline{EP} in the centre (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. xii. 3, 4, and 5).

On Ecgbeorht's two coins just named, the reverses of each are quite different. In one the moneyer's name is written on a label which runs across the coin, above and below which, is a cross with dots in the angles within a floral scroll, as on some coins of Offa (*B. M. Cat.*, pl. vii. 3). The other type of reverse disposes the name of the moneyer in the angles of a cross crosslet, with lozenge-shaped centre, containing five pellets (see *Montagu Cat.*, part i. No. 283; the coin there described is now in the B. M.), as on a coin of Coenwulf, 796-822 (*B. M. Cat.*, pl. viii. 19), except that in the latter the arms of the cross terminate in crosslets.

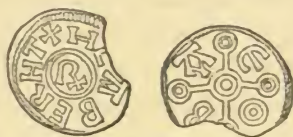
The only moneyers' names which have hitherto occurred on these coins are VDD on the former, and BABBA on the latter. VDD was a moneyer of Offa, while BABBA was also a moneyer of his successor Coenwulf and of Eadbearht Praen, which brings this Ecgbeorht and Eadbearht Praen close together, and close also to the junction between the reigns of Offa and of Coenwulf.

I ought to add that specimens of these very rare coins of Ecgbeorht exist in the Bergen Museum in Norway, probably the result of the Norwegian raid on Kent in 793.

In the coins of Eadbearht the type consists of the king's name on one side with REX and the moneyer's name running across the field in one or more labels on the other; on one coin surmounted with an ω for "monetarius," and resembling one of Offa's coins (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. vii. 13). In addition to Babba, two other moneyers' names are known on Eadberht's coins, namely, Ethelmod and Jaenberht [Pl. XVI. 3]. These coins most resemble a coin of Offa (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. vii. 13).

I now propose to consider another coin, which I explain

rather differently to Lord Grantley, who is its fortunate possessor, and who first published it (*Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 149). I give an illustration of it below. It reads on the obverse HEABERHT between two circles, the inner one surrounding the monogram already described on the coin of Ecgbeorht, *i.e.* R, and on the reverse "EΘBA between the limbs of a cross, each limb ending in an annulet containing a pellet; the cross voided in the centre and containing a pellet; a pellet also in the centre of the letter Θ."



PENNY OF HEABERHT.

The Heaberht of this coin I venture to suggest is no other than Eadberht Praen, with a different spelling. The initial aspirate seems to have been very arbitrarily used or disused at this time (see the coins of Ecgbeorht, described below); and we can hardly doubt that the Eadbert, or Edbert, King of Kent, who granted a charter to the Abbess Sigeburga and to St. Peter's, Canterbury, in 761 (? 763) (see Birch, C. 189, 190), is the same person who witnesses a charter of Sigiraed, dated in 762 (*id.*, 193), which is signed "Eadberht rex Cantiae," and who was also a witness of a grant by Offa in 764 (*id.*, 195), in which he signs as "Heaberht rex," while he is made to confirm the spurious charter of 765 under the signature of "Heaberhtus rex Cant."

It would seem, therefore, that Heaberht and Eadberht are only forms of one name. The moneyer Eoba, who made Lord Grantley's coin above named, also made coins

for Offa and Coenwulf, Kings of Mercia, and for Cuthred King of Kent. I cannot, therefore, avoid identifying this Heaberht with Eadberht Praen.

The explanation of these coins of Ecgbearht and of Eadberht Praen does not seem to me very difficult, notwithstanding the very scanty historical information given us at this time by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

It is plain that at the extreme end of Offa's reign, when his hand had possibly become weak, and during the beginning of the reign of his successor Coenwulf, a determined effort was made by the Kentish nobles and people to break the yoke of Mercia which had lain on them so long, at which time whatever petty sovereigns they had were clearly treated as quite subordinate, and none of them struck any coins in Kent. This privilege was monopolized by the Mercian king and by the two archbishops Jaenberht and Aethelheard, who were faithful champions of the Mercian cause, and on whose coins, as has been observed, no moneyers' names occur, and only the names of the Mercian kings, Offa and Coenwulf.

When the outbreak just mentioned took place, Aethelheard took sides against the Kent people, and found himself consequently in trouble with them, and we have a letter from Alcuin, written in 796, begging him not to abandon his flock, "*pro commissis tibi a Christo ovibus certare non cesses, ne mercenarius fugiens, et non pastor firmus, at Ipso Domino et Pastore omnium deputeris.*" He adds that he had also written to Offa, to press him to add his influence to his own (Haddan and Stubbs, *C. and E. D.*, &c., iii. pp. 495 and 496).

The archbishop, nevertheless, did flee. This, as Bishop Stubbs argues, is shown by his attesting two charters of Ecgfrid, the son and successor of Offa at Bath, and

doubtless in the year 796 (see Birch, i., Nos. 277 and 278). This outbreak at the end of Offa's reign, or perhaps after his death, was doubtless led by Ecgbearht, the son of King Ealhmund, who was then probably quite a young man, and seems to have been the only offshoot of the old royal line of Kent, who remained in the district, and who was a layman.

As we have seen, Ecgbearht was eventually driven out of the country, and sought shelter with Charlemagne. On his departure the Kentish nobles had to find another figure-head, and having no layman available they found a royal personage in a monastery, whom they withdrew from that position and put on the throne, whence doubtless he derived his surname of Praen. In regard to his personality, we do not know much. That late and very rhetorical compiler, Henry of Huntingdon, calls him "Ecgbearht's *cognatus*."

Lappenberg reminds us that Wallingford confuses him with Eadberht, son of Wihtred, King of Kent. This last fact is attested by a more respectable authority than Wallingford, namely, in the genealogies attached to Florence of Worcester (*M. H. B.*, 635). It is possible that the statement is right, and that when Eadberht was withdrawn from his monastery, he was a very old man, and that he had, after being King of Kent, like other Saxon kings, gone willingly or unwillingly into a monastery. The fact that he had been a monk and broken his vows and once more gone into the world gave the archbishop, who opposed the whole movement, his opportunity, and he seems to have appealed to the Pope to punish him. Meanwhile we have a second letter of Alcuin's, written in 797, to the clergy and nobles of Kent, warning them that while they were engaged in civil strife, they must

remember how pagan pirates had dared to attack the coasts of the Empire. He urged them to recall their archbishop, and to follow his advice and submit to him, for it was not seemly that the see of St. Augustine should be thus vacant (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 509).

In 798 we find Pope Leo III writing to Coenwulf, and in his letter he refers to another communication he had received from the archbishop, and speaks in it *de clerico illo apostata qui ascenderat in regnum, similem illum deputantes Juliano Parabatae, anathematizantes abieciimus, salutem animae ejus procurantes*; and the Pope goes on to say that if he persisted in his iniquitous action, *nobis celeriter enuntiare studemini, ut nos apostolicum communitorium omni generalitati, tam principibus quamque cuncto populo insulas Bryttanias morantibus adhortantes mittamus, ut eum a nequissimo expellere regno et salutem animae illius procurare. Nam pro hujusmodi regi valde nimisque beatificavimus, et laudavimus fratrem nostrum prefatum Archiepiscopum* (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 524).

In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we read, under the year 796—to be corrected to 798—that Coenwulf laid waste Kent as far as the marshes, and took Praen their king, and carried him off bound into Mercia.

It has generally been said that he cut off his hands and blinded him. The two earliest authorities for this statement are the twelfth-century copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Codex F, and Simeon of Durham.

On the other hand, William of Malmesbury and Roger of Wendover tell us that Eadberht Praen was present at the foundation of Winchcombe Priory, and was there given his liberty at the instance of Cuthred

his successor, as King of Kent. This last story seems very doubtful.

In 798 we have a letter from Alcuin to Archbishop Aethelheard, who had returned to his see, doubtless after the suppression of the rebellion, advising him to do penance for having abandoned his flock, and he bids the archbishop rid himself and his co-priests of their *vanissimum vestimentorum cultum et conviviorum usum*. The counsels of such a candid friend must have been hard to bear. From this letter we may gather that Eadberht Praen's revolt lasted from 796 to 798. When it was suppressed, Coenwulf put his brother Cuthred on the Kentish throne. Ecgbeorht, as we have seen, had fled to the Continent and to Charlemagne. That Emperor had other fugitives from England at his court. Thus in a letter written by the Emperor to Archbishop Aethelheard, and not dated, he asks him to intercede for certain fugitives and their leader Umhringstan, and undertaking that they would be faithful if they were allowed to return, and that they had only fled to save their lives (Haddan and Stubbs, iii. 488).

In another letter, written directly by the Emperor to Offa, he appeals to him, on behalf of a certain Odhberht, a priest, *qui de Roma rediens, pro Dei amore, ut referre solet, peregrinare volens, non vos accusare veniens; sciat dilectio vestra, quod cum cum caeteris exulibus, qui timore mortis sub nostrae protectionis confugerunt alas, Romam direximus, ut sub praesentia domini apostolici, et N. Archiepiscopi vestri, quo se ut vestri innotuerunt apices, voto constrinxerunt, audita causa illorum judicentur* (Haddan and Stubbs, *id.*, 497).

Is it possible that by this Odhbert the priest, Eadberht Praen can be meant? The name is virtually the same.

He must have been a person of some consequence to have been the subject of a correspondence between two such rulers, and it may be that during his troubled reign he had to seek shelter abroad for a while.

A more important fugitive was Ecgbeorht, who no doubt, as the son of a Kentish king who had been a king himself, received every honour from his host; and I see no reason whatever to doubt the conclusion I arrived at in my previous paper, that he was the Count Egbert who became one of Charlemagne's paladins. While my main contention in this behalf is, I hold, perfectly sound, Mr. Stevenson reminds me that one of my phrases has an ambiguous meaning. I claimed that the Count Egbert, Charlemagne's paladin, was the only personage of the name occurring in the *Onomasticon* of Carlovingian times. I ought to have said what I really meant, namely, that no Egbert who lived at an earlier date than himself so occurs. Those so found are all posterior to him, and after he had made the name famous. So far as I know, Count Egbert, whose career at Charlemagne's Court exactly synchronizes with the period of Egbert's exile, was the first continental grandee of the name. It is probable that, while abroad, Egbert was married to some continental lady.

Let us now see what was happening in Kent and Wessex in his absence. On the suppression of Eadberht Praen, Coenwulf put Cuthred on the throne of Kent, but apparently not immediately. He is called his brother in two charters (Birch, vol. i. pp. 420 and 444), and is perhaps the same person who signed, as "Cuthred Dux," two grants of land to Canterbury by Coenwulf, dated in 799. As Cuthred does not sign as king, he possibly had not then acquired the throne (*id.*, vol. i.

pp. 410 and 412). In 801 Coenwulf makes a grant, conjointly with his brother Cuthred *rex scilicet Cantuariorum*, to the thegn Swithun, of certain lands at Brom Gehaege, &c., which is afterwards confirmed at Canterbury in the presence of King Cuthred and Archbishop Aethelheard (*id.*, p. 420). In 804 Coenwulf as King of Mercia, and Cuthred as King of Kent, granted certain lands to Selethryth and the Convent of Limming. Coenwulf calls Cuthred in this charter *frater meus rex Cantuariorum* (Birch, i. p. 444); it is attested, *inter alios*, by Archbishop Aethelheard. In 805 Cuthred signs as "Rex Cantiae" a recovery by Archbishop Aethelheard of lands at Burnan for the Monastery of Christ Church at Canterbury. This document (*id.*, p. 447) does not mention Coenwulf, which seems suspicious. If genuine, it is important, since it is the last known act of the archbishop, who is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have died in 805. His obit at Canterbury, as given in the *Anglia Sacra*, is May 12th. A deed to which his successor was privy is dated in 804, which, if genuine, points to 804 rather than 805 as that of the archbishop's death (*id.*, 444). Like his predecessor, he was a faithful supporter of the Mercian king.

This is reflected in the coins, for while Jaenberht and Aethelheard always place the name of the Mercian king on their coins, Wulfred never does so, but either replaces it by the name of the moneyer (and he is the first Archbishop of Canterbury whose moneyers are in fact known) or by the name Dorobernia.

He also initiated the practice of putting a bust on the archiepiscopal coins, which in his case is a tonsured head in full face, and it occurs on the obverse of all

his signed coins. It is interesting to compare these coins with those of his contemporaries.

It was probably on the death of Charlemagne, in 814, that Ecgbeorht returned to England, made peace with Coenwulf, and was by him appointed to command and control the march, or frontier on the borders of the West Welsh, where, as I have shown, his *ducatus* probably existed. This fact is supported by the curious one that Ecgbeorht was buried, not at Winchester, but at Sherborne, in his own western province.

We have no evidence of any kind that he exercised any royal functions until after the death of Coenwulf, and it would seem that it was the accession of Beornwulf (who was probably a usurper) to the throne of Mercia, which led him to revolt. It is from this date we first meet with Ecgbeorht's charters, and it was in 824 we read of his holding his first witan at Aclea, probably Oakley in Hampshire. The following year the kingdom of Kent, which had long been an appanage of Mercia, fell into his hands as a result of the Battle of Ellandune. Mr. Hunt suggests that Ellandune was near Winchester, since Hun, who was killed there, is said by Ethelweard to have been buried at Winchester. This victory was the first serious blow which had been sustained by Mercia for a long time. Mercia had for many years dominated all England south of the Ribble. The Mercian kings ruled directly over Mercia, and also over East Anglia, which country they had appropriated, and mediately over Wessex and Kent, whose so-called kings were really the dependants of the Mercian Imperator, and the Mercian rulers are just as much entitled as Ecgbeorht and his successors to be styled "Kings of England."

By the Battle of Ellandune Ecgbeorht recovered the

kingdom of Kent, which had belonged to his ancestors, and from this time the Mercian domination south of the Thames came to an end, for Kent then included Surrey and Sussex.

It was doubtless from this date that Ecgbeorht began to strike coins in Kent. The curious extract from a charter I quoted in my previous paper shows what had been, and no doubt still was, the legal tender in Wessex at this time, namely, certain rings of gold of a definite weight, and we have not a particle of evidence that the use of coined money was known in Wessex up to this time.

It seems clear that all Ecgbeorht's later coins must have been struck between the year 825, when he conquered Kent, and his death in 833; and it would seem further that a large proportion of them were struck at Canterbury, Kent's capital. Let us therefore first try and give some account of his Canterbury mint.

At this time a great revolution took place in the Kentish coins, namely, the introduction on their reverses of a monogram composed as follows: $\begin{smallmatrix} D \\ CO \\ R \end{smallmatrix} \square$; and now generally accepted as representing Dorobernia. This monogram is formed on the same plan as that representing the name Carolus on the coins of Charlemagne [Pl. XVII. 7], and it seems very probable that it was one of the ideas imported by Ecgbeorht on his return from Charlemagne's Court. It also occurs on a coin of Wulfred the archbishop [Pl. XVII. 8], so that there is a bare possibility that the latter may have introduced it; but it seems much more likely that it was Ecgbeorht himself. It seems to me to have replaced all the other reverses on Ecgbeorht's Canterbury coins. It occurs on no less than 67 out of the 92 coins of

Ecgbeorht from the famous find described in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1894. These 67 coins, which must all be accepted as Canterbury coins, are distributed over as many as eleven moneyers; and I would suggest that they should all be arranged after those coins of Ecgbeorht which we may presume were Canterbury coins, and which followed the older tradition.

Before the introduction of this monogram, the Canterbury mint was discriminated, as I believe Sir John Evans was the first to point out, by the occurrence of the tribrach, a symbol of the archbishop, and taken from his pallium. Inasmuch as this symbol occurs on some of Ecgbeorht's coins, it doubtless marks on them the earlier tradition before it was displaced by the monogram referred to, which, so far as we can see, displaced all other marks for Canterbury.

We must now say a few words about the so-called *Sede Vacante* coins. I do not know why my friend Mr. Keary, when writing his admirable account of the Anglo-Saxon series, should have virtually left this particular class uncatalogued, and merely referred to it in general terms; for it is a very interesting class. These coins have generally been supposed to be archiepiscopal coins struck during some vacancy in the see of Canterbury, hence bearing no archbishop's name. Mr. Lawrence (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, *Proceedings*, p. 11) has made it plain that they were not struck during any such *hiatus* in the see, and that we must explain them in some other way.

The first thing that strikes me is that whereas they bear neither a royal nor an archiepiscopal name, they for the most part have busts on them. Some of them are tonsured, and some are diademed; that is to say, some are meant to represent a priestly, and others, a

royal person. The former can hardly represent any one but the archbishop. It is plain, therefore, that it is only a portion of these coins which are archiepiscopal; the rest are a purely royal coinage, only that they bear no name of a ruler upon them, as was first pointed out by Mr. Grueber.

Mr. Lawrence has shown, from an analysis of the moneyers, that the issue of these coins must be placed about the year 825, at the time when Baldred was driven out of Kent, and when Ecgbeorht took possession of the throne,—in a troubled time, therefore, when the moneyers might well be pardoned for hesitating about a positive declaration on the coins as to who was legitimately King, and who was archbishop. In regard to the King, this seems fairly obvious, when the fact has been pointed out, but it seems equally plain in regard to the archbishop. We must remember who the archbishop was at this time. It was, in fact, Wulfred, who had held the see since 805, and who was a very uneasy political parson, and had had a deadly quarrel with Coenwulf, the King of Mercia, for several years before the latter's death in 821. In 822 Ceolwulf, Coenwulf's successor, who styles himself "King of the Mercians and Kent men," made a peace-offering of a grant of land to the archbishop. On the other hand, Wulfred was apparently unfriendly to Ecgbeorht, for he is not named as present at the witan in 824 at Aclea, while in 825 he was present with his twelve suffragans at the Council of Clovesho, as was also Beornwulf, King of the Mercians. In the record of that council, Ecgbeorht is not named, although matters in Kent were settled there. In the same year questions about the see of Selsea, in Sussex, were settled by a document emanating from the Synod at Clovesho, in

which Beornwulf is again mentioned, but not Ecgbeorht, and it is possible that Wulfred did not acknowledge Ecgbeorht as King of Kent for some time. He seems, in fact, to have been a supporter of the old *régime* in Kent. It is possible, therefore, that he was not himself at first acknowledged by Ecgbeorht.

It is reasonable, therefore, to treat these so-called *Sede Vacante* coins as having been struck in the beginning of Ecgbeorht's reign in Kent. The coins in question were all struck at Canterbury, and have "Dorobernia Civitas" on their reverse, and the known moneyers occurring on them are—

Wilnod.	Sigestef.
Luning.	Diormod.
Saeberht.	Oba.
Swefneard.	Swefneard.

The former list comprises the moneyers occurring on the coins with the tonsured head, and the latter those with the regal head: one only of them, Swefneard, occurs in both lists [PL. XVI. 4]. All the moneyers in the first list coined money for Wulfred, and they comprise that archbishop's only known moneyers. As to three of them, see *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 45; and as to the fourth, Luning, see *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. p. 73 [PL. XVI. 5].

None of the four, as Mr. Grueber says, unless Swefheard be a variant of Swefneard, coined for Wulfred's successor, Ceolnod.

Of the moneyers in the second list all four coined for Baldred, King of Kent, and for Coenwulf of Mercia, and all four continued to coin for Ecgbeorht; but not one of them made money for Ethelwulf. All this points to

these coins having been struck at the very beginning of Ecgbearht's reign in Kent.

Let us now turn to the coins bearing Ecgbearht's name and struck at Canterbury. Eleven moneyers' names occur on the monogram coins above named. Of these, three, namely, Diormod, Oba, and Swefneard, also occur on the wrongly styled *Sede Vacante* coins.

Sigestef does not seem to have coined any money with the monogram, which points to his having disappeared early, and to Ecgbearht's coins with his name as moneyer being early too. He was the inventor and sole proprietor of type iv., *B. M. Cat.*, of a second type acquired by the Museum in 1894 (see *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 60, No. 76; compare similar coin of Diormod, *Pl. XVI. 7*); and of type vii., *B. M. Cat.*, of Ecgbearht's coins, which must, therefore, be put very early [*Pl. XVI. 6*]. Only one coin of Sigestef of the type is apparently known, and it is now in the British Museum.

Diormod, in addition to using the monogram type, used type x., *B. M. Cat.* [*Pl. XVI. 7*], of Ecgbearht's coins, of which more than one variety exists. It was probably invented by Sigestef. This type should also no doubt be put very early, and before the monogram type displaced all others on Canterbury coins.

Oba, in addition to the coins which he struck for Ecgbearht with the Canterbury mint-name, also struck others of two different types, namely, type xv. of the *B. M. Cat.* [*Pl. XVI. 8*], of which he seems to have been the inventor and sole proprietor, and also a type with a cross pattée on each side, of which only one specimen is known from the 1894 hoard (see below). These coins and types of Oba ought clearly to be put before those with the Canterbury monogram.



PENNY OF ECGBEORHT.

Swefneard was a remarkable person, in that he was not only Ecgbeorht's moneyer, but also probably made coins for two archbishops. In addition to the monogram coins he made for Ecgbeorht, he was also the inventor and proprietor of type xii. of the *B. M. Cat.* [Pl. XVI. 9], which has a tribrach on the reverse, the symbol which I have argued was displaced by the monogram, which, therefore, points to its early date (see *Montagu Cat.*, part i. No. 460).

Let us now turn to some other Canterbury moneyers of Ecgbeorht, who do not occur on the coins distinguished as the *Sede Vacante* coins, and used other types than that which ultimately dominated the rest.

A moneyer of Ecgbeorht was named Werheard, or Werneard. He struck coins for him with another form of tribrach, type ix., *B. M. Cat.*, p. 7, No. 16 [Pl. XVI. 10]. Werheard also struck coins for Ecgbeorht's predecessor, Coenwulf of Mercia, and for Cuthred and Baldred of Kent. On one of Cuthred's there is also a tribrach (see *B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. xi. 7). Werheard is absent from the list of moneyers of Ethelwulf and Archbishop Ceolnod. It is clear, however, from the tribrach occurring on some of his coins, that he was a Canterbury man. He does not seem to have coined any money with the monogram above mentioned, but he was apparently the inventor and proprietor of type xi., *B. M.* [Pl. XVI. 11], a specimen of which was obtained by the Museum in 1894, which was

used, however, by Ethelmod on a coin of Baldred of Kent (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. xi. 9); and of type xvi. of Ecgbeorht's coins, only one specimen of which is known, which is in Sir John Evans's Collection (see below). Werheard must clearly be put at the very beginning of Ecgbeorht's reign.



PENNY OF ECGBEORHT.
(Evans Collection.)

On one of the coins of Ecgbeorht, on which Tidbearht occurs as a moneyer, the tribrach is also represented (see *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 61, Pl. iv. 8). We may take it, therefore, that Tidbearht or Timbearht, as the name is also written, was not only a Canterbury man, but struck coins for Ecgbeorht at the very beginning of his reign. This was a new type? [Pl. XVI. 13]. He also invented a second new type [Pl. XVI. 12]. Tidbearht also struck coins for Ecgbeorht's predecessors, Coenwulf of Mercia, and Baldred of Kent. As his name does not occur either on Ethelwulf's coins or on those of Archbishop Coenred, it is another reason for putting him early in Ecgbeorht's reign. Tidbearht afterwards struck coins with the Canterbury monogram.

Ethelmod, who was a moneyer for Coenwulf and Coelwulf, Kings of Mercia, and for Baldred, King of Kent, also made coins for Ecgbeorht. As two of the coins struck for Coenwulf have the tribrach on their reverse (see *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii. 38, Nos. 97 and 98), it shows that he was a Canterbury moneyer. Ethelmod, by whom

the mutilated name "Ethel" on one of the coins is probably meant, struck no coins for Ecgbeorht with the monogram of Dorobernia, but he was apparently the inventor and proprietor of two others of his types, which must be treated as Canterbury types, earlier than the introduction of the monogram, viz. types viii. and xiii. of the B. M. Cat. [Pl. XVII. 1, 2]. The former was also used by Werheard on a coin of Coenwulf's (*B. M. Cat.*, vol. i. pl. viii. 15).

The moneyer Dunun or Dynyn occurs on two different types of Ecgbeorht's coins, types v. and vi. in the *B. M. Cat.* [Pl. XVII. 3, 4]. On one he spells his name with two *u*'s, and on the other with two *y*'s, but the name is clearly the same. On a third coin, probably of the same moneyer, which was added to the B. M. collection in 1894, he writes his name "Duun" [Pl. XVII. 5]. This coin is described by Mr. Grueber as a new type, while on a fourth coin, bought at the Montagu Sale (*Cat.*, part i. No. 464) for the B. M., on which this moneyer is called Dyyn, we have the same reverse as on a coin in Pl. XVIII. 12, *infra*. He is doubtless the Dun of Ceonwulf's coins and the Dunn of Ceolwulf's. Dun was also a moneyer of Ethelwulf's. On a coin of Baldred he calls himself "Dunn." I don't know where this last coin is. I may here remark that I cannot help feeling that when references are given in the Museum catalogues to names of moneyers, &c., on coins not in the Museum, that the collection where the coin is given, or the book where it is published, should be given also. It would be a great help in studying the coins. Inasmuch as all the other moneyers of Baldred are Canterbury men, it is a strong presumption that Dunn was so also; and this is strengthened by his using a common type with the Canterbury moneyer

Ethelmod. We may, therefore, at least tentatively, treat his coins as of the Canterbury mint.

The same is the case with Beagmund, whose name occurs on three coins of the 1894 find, of type xiii. of the *B. M. Cat.* [Pl. XVII. 6]. This type was also used by Ethelmod, who was a Canterbury moneyer. Another and more famous coin on which his name occurs, is the unique one secured by the British Museum at the Montagu Sale (*Cat.*, part i. No. 468), with the interlaced letter A on the obverse. This puzzling letter may perhaps represent the initial of St. Andrew, to whom Rochester Cathedral was dedicated, and, if so, Beagmund may have been a Rochester moneyer [see Pl. XVIII. 5].

Osmund, whose name occurs on some of the coins with the monogram of Dorobernia, and who was therefore a Canterbury moneyer, also struck coins of type viii., *B. M. Cat.*, which type, as we have seen, was also used by Ethelmod and Dunun, other Canterbury moneyers.

This completes the description of the coins which do not bear the name or monogram of Dorobernia, but which I would attribute to the Canterbury mint, because they were struck by Canterbury moneyers.

The important matter seems to me to separate the whole of the Canterbury coins with Ecgbeorht's name on them into two great classes. In one of these I would place all the coins with the monogram of Dorobernia, and in the other all the other Canterbury coins. As I have argued the monogram reverse superseded all the rest. It occurs on a large proportion of the Canterbury coins in the 1894 hoard, and was used by at least eleven moneyers. These coins I would therefore place after the other class, and this is supported by the relatively very large number of them in the

1894 hoard, which was deposited in Ethelwulf's reign. Having separated these two divisions, it seems to me that Ecgbeorht's Canterbury coins, in regard to date, fall into three classes—

1. The so-called *Sede Vacante* coins with the royal bust.
2. The Canterbury coins with Ecgbeorht's name on them, but without any mention of Canterbury, and which I would assign to that city because they were struck by Canterbury moneyers.
3. The Canterbury coins with Ecgbeorht's name, and bearing also the monogram of Dorobernia.

The second class includes types iv., v., vi., vii., viii., ix., x., xi., xii., xiii., xv., and xvi. of the *B. M. Cat.*, and perhaps also type xiv., and also certain new types here described.

All the coins with these types should be arranged immediately after the so-called *Sede Vacante* coins, and before those with the Dorobernia monogram.

In regard to the way they should be distributed, I would suggest, as a conventional method merely, that we should first place the coins struck by moneyers who were employed before Ecgbeorht's reign and by his predecessors, and who are not found on the monogram coins. These ought, *primâ facie*, to be very early coins, and to come immediately after the *Sede Vacante* coins. They include those of—

1. Sigestef, the inventor of types iv. and vii., but who is not found on any of the coins with the monogram, nor was he employed by subsequent rulers.
2. Diormod, the inventor of type x.
3. Oba, the inventor of type xv., and of a new type with a cross pattée on each side, not in the Museum Catalogue (see above, p. 242). The coin is now in the Museum.

4. Swefneard, the inventor of type xii.

5. Werheard, the inventor of types ix., xi., and xvi. He, like Sigestef, is not found on the monogram coins, nor subsequently.

6. Ethelmod, the inventor of two of the types in the *B. M. Cat.*, namely, viii. and xiii. He does not occur among the moneyers using the monogram type.

7. Tidbearht. He is found on two new types not in the *B. M. Cat.* (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, 61, Nos. 85 and 86), of which he was the author, and subsequently on money with the monogram.

8. Dunun, Duun, or Dunn. He was the inventor of types v. and vi., and the joint user with Ethelmod of type viii., and was in addition the inventor of two new types under the name Duun and Dynn. He does not occur on the monogram coins.

9. Beagmund, not on monogram coins, but on two types, namely, xiii., which he used with Ethelmod, and a new type with the interlaced A's.

10. Osmund. His name is found on coins of type viii., which he used conjointly with Ethelmod.

It is notable that all these moneyers, except the two last, coined money for Baldred, Ecgbeorht's predecessor as King of Kent.

After the various types just cited ought to come those with the monogram type which was so generally if not universally adopted, and of which we now have coins with the names of at least eleven moneyers, namely, Biormod, Dealla, Deibus, Duding, Diormod, Bosel, Oba, Osmund, Swefneard, Tidbearht, and Tilwine [Pl. XVII 9, 10].

In regard to peculiarities on these coins. The name of the King is spelt Hegbearht, by Diormod and Swefneard, on other than the monogram coins, on which latter they

adopt the normal spelling (see *B. M. Cat.*, pl. ii. pp. 7, 17, and 18). Werheard and Tidbearht, Osmund and Wulgar, also spell the name with an *H* on other than the monogram coins (see *Montagu Catalogue*, part i. Nos. 463, 465, 466, and 468; and *Num. Chron.*, 1894, pp. 60 and 61).

Turning from the Canterbury mint, we find certain coins without moneyers' names on them, which fall under three types—

First, *obverse*, ECGBEORHT RE; bust to the right, diademed; *reverse*, $\text{SE} \text{S}$ ANDREAS APO, within a circle; in the centre of which, $\text{ST} \text{S}$ OLV (*Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 60) [Pl. XVII. 11].

The reading of the legend, which goes on from the outer circle to the central portion, is plainly "St. Andrew the Apostle." It has been interpreted as referring to the patron saint of Rochester, and as a proof that the coin was struck there, and this seems to me the only explanation of it available. The coin is now in the British Museum, and is figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. iv. 5.

Secondly, on a second coin, *obverse*, ECBEORHT REX, bust to the right, diademed; *reverse*, ZCZ ANDREAZ, within a circle the monogram A , i.e. Alpha and Omega [Pl. XVII. 12]. Two coins of this type are in the British Museum.

Thirdly, a third type has *obverse*, ECBEORHT REX; bust to right, diademed; *reverse*, ZCZ ANDREAZ; cross, two limbs molines, two limbs pattées.¹

This broken coin is in the Museum, and is figured in the *Catalogue*, pl. i. 3, but a perfect specimen was added in 1894 (see *Num. Chron.*, 1894, p. 60, No. 72) [Pl. XVIII. 1].

¹ Mr. Grueber says he has seen a coin of this type with the name Dunn Moneta, *Num. Chron.*, 1894, 60, note.

It was at first misread by Mr. Grueber, as he tells us, from the imperfect coin, and he mistook part of the legend for the name of a moneyer Andred.


In regard to coins struck in or for the Mercian part of Ecgbeorht's kingdom, and which were probably issued during the short interval between the deposition and the restoration of Wiglaf (*i.e.* 828 or 829-830), King of Mercia, we have two specimens belonging to two types, both in the Museum.


1. The first of these has on the *obverse* ECCBERHT REX τ , and within a dotted circle a cross potent; and on the *reverse* REDTVDP MOHET; within a dotted circle, \mathfrak{A} [PL XVIII. 2]. This coin is clearly meant to read, on the obverse, "Ecgbeorht, King of the Mercians," or "of Mercia." It is figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. iv. 10. The moneyer Redmund occurs on the coins of Wiglaf, who was expelled from Mercia by Ecgbeorht, and, so far as I know, on no other coins [see PL XVIII. 4].

2. The second type is even more important, since it contains the first mention of London on an Anglo-Saxon coin. It reads: *obverse*, ECCBERHT REX τ ; within a dotted circle, a cross potent; *reverse*, ^{LVN} D $\overline{\text{O}}$ NIA CIVIT. It is figured in *Num. Chron.*, 1894, Pl. iv. 9 [PL XVIII. 3].

It is exceedingly probable that these two coins were struck in the year 829-830.

I will now turn to another coin which I think has not been quite understood by the authors of the *B. M. Cat. of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, to whom every student of Anglo-Saxon coins is so deeply indebted. This coin was published in the *Num. Chron.*, N.S., iii. 46, and a figure of it is given in the *B. M. Cat.*, p. 5, where it is made into type xix. of Ecgbeorht's coins. The

coin is imperfect, having had a piece broken out of it. The obverse consists of a cross potent, round which is an inscription between two circles, reading E***RHT REX T. That this broken name represents "Egbeorht" I have no doubt. It is a coin of Egbeorht, and it is plain from its reading, REX T, that when extended and translated it was meant to read "Rex Merciorum," and that it belongs to Egbeorht's Mercian series. The reverse has in the centre the following monogram, , round which, between two circles, was originally the moneyer's name, and it now reads B***VUF MOHE.

In the *British Museum Catalogue*, Mr. Grueber transliterated the monogram , and explained it as a contraction for "Saxon." I could not quite follow him in this. The only letter in common between the monogram and the word "Saxon" is the letter A, and the occurrence of the word "Saxon" on a Mercian coin would, it seemed to me, be incongruous, if not impossible, and I was disposed to think that the monogram stood for "Anglia," i.e. East Anglia, since the letter A in the monogram in question is a very curious form of A, and, what is more curious, it is the very A which occurs on nearly all the coins of East Anglia, and was possibly used as the initial of "Anglia" [see **PL XVIII. 12**]. Mr. Grueber writes to me to say that he now thinks, and his view seems to be unanswerable, that the monogram in question is a blundered one, and that the correct form of it is that given *infra*, **PL XVIII. 2**, of which this fragmentary coin is in part a replica. The two coins were both struck by the moneyer Redmund, for it is quite plain that the three last letters of the name on the fragment are the three last on the name as found on the coin figured in **PL XVIII. 2**.

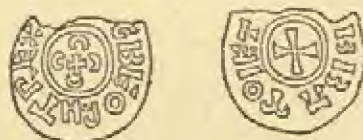
Let us now turn to another coin about which a similar

ambiguity seems to me to attach. The coin in question is now in the British Museum, and was bought in 1894 from Mr. Montagu. In the centre of the obverse we have the monogram -X- in a circle, between which and an outer circle of beads is the inscription, ECCBEORHT REX [PL. XVIII. 5]. This monogram has been read as if compounded of two M's, and explained as a proof of Ecgbeorht's reign over Mercia, of which they are supposed to represent the initial letter. This seems to me quite improbable. They are not M's at all, but simply two A's, one reversed; and it is not improbable they have the same meaning as the letter A just named has, and that they refer to Ecgbeorht's rule in East Anglia.

I would mention that the type on the reverse of this coin, the cross potent, is also that on the obverse of the coin last mentioned. The moneyer of the last coin, which forms type xiv. of Mr. Grueber's arrangement, in the *B. M. Cat.*, is Beagmund. Beagmund also occurs on three varieties of the B. M. type xiii. of Ecgbeorht's coins, with a cross potent on each side; and on types ix., x., and xxi. of Ethelwulf's coins, type x. also marked by the cross potent.

A third type, Mr. Grueber's type xvii. of Ecgbeorht's coins, has also, it seems to me, been misunderstood. The only specimen of it known is broken. It belonged to Mr. Boyne, and was figured in the *B. M. Cat.*, vol. ii. p. 5. The design of this coin is peculiar. On the obverse we have a small cross pattée within four crescents, with the horns turned inwards, and the mutilated inscription *XGBEORHT REX between two circles; and on the reverse a cross pattée and the inscription *XBA TOJET, also between two circles (see below). That this coin belongs

to an Ecgbeorht is clear; but it seems possible to me that it ought to be placed and classed not among the coins of Ecgbeorht's second reign described in vol. ii. of the *B. M. Cat.*, but among those of his first described on p. 67 of vol. i. of that work. The letters SBA on the reverse will not fit in with any of the moneyers of the second class of Ecgbeorht's coins, but are apparently the concluding letters of Babba, a moneyer who made a coin of the former class already noted. It was *formerly* in the Montagu Collection, No. 283, and is now in the British Museum.



PENNY OF EGBEORHT.

In my former paper, I said very emphatically that Ecgbeorht struck no coins for Wessex. I am not sure now that I was right. There is a curious series of his coins, on which he styles himself "King of the Saxons," which now seem to me to have been possibly struck in Wessex or for Wessex. The "style" would be inappropriate to a ruler of Kent, while the moneyers' names on the coins are, I believe, none of them found on the coins known to have been struck in Kent. The first of these I would name is type xx. of the *B. M. Cat.*

Obv.—✚ EGBEORHT REX. Within a circle, SAXG-NIORVM in three lines.

Rev.—✚ EANFALD MONETA. Within a circle, cross pattée. A specimen of this coin was added to the British Museum in 1894. [Pl. XVIII. 6.]

The moneyer Eanwald occurs among those of Ethelwulf, and on the coins he struck for Ethelwulf we have on the obverse an elaborate monogram reading "Saxonu;" but he nowhere occurs among the known moneyers of Mercia or of Kent, who struck coins either for Ecgbeorht or his predecessors. In addition to this coin with the name "Saxoniorum" written at full length, we have a small series in which the name occurs in a monogram constructed on the same principle as the monogram of Doro-bernia, and which, like it, was no doubt imitated from the monogram of "Carolus" on the coins of Charlemagne.

These are, first, a coin in the British Museum: *obv.*,
X
 ECGGEORHT REX, within circle SΛO; *rev.*, IFA MONETA;
N
 cross pattée [PL. XVIII. 8]. Second, *obv.*, ECGREORHT REX, monogram as on preceding coin; *rev.*, TIDEMAN MONE, cross same as preceding. Third, *obv.*, ECGBEORHT REX, monogram as on the preceding coin; *rev.*, TILRED MONETA [PL. XVIII. 7].^a Fourth, *obv.*, ECGBEORHT REX, monogram as on No. 1; *rev.*, BEORNEHART, cross as before. Fifth, *obv.*, ECGBEORHT REX, monogram as before; *rev.*, BOZA MONETA. Lastly, on an injured coin figured in the *B. M. Cat.* as type xix., the monogram on the reverse, which has been read by Grueber and Keary as that of Sax, seems to me, as I have said, to have a probably different meaning.

In regard to the six moneyers—Eanwald, Ifa, Tideman, Tilred, Beornehart, and Boza last named—the first thing to be said is that none of them occur on other types of Ecgbeorht's coins, nor on any of his coins distinctly

^a On the specimen of this coin in the Montagu sale the last word on the reverse, according to the Catalogue, No. 179, reads MONATA.

Kentish; nor do any of them, except Eanwald, occur on Ethelwulf's coins; nor do they occur on the coins of Coenwulf or Ceolwulf, or their successors Kings of Mercia, nor on the coins of the Kentish kings Cuthred and Baldred, nor on those of the archbishops; nor anywhere, in fact, except on Ecgbeorht's coins of this type. Nor is there the slightest evidence for connecting them with Kent. On two of them, namely, those of Ifa and Tideman, the name of the king is misspelt in a way proving the moneyers to have been unaccustomed or ignorant people.

As I have said before, the style "King of the Saxons" would be quite inappropriate on coins meant to pass current on coins in Kent. The Wessex kings, on their charters, sometimes speak of themselves as "Kings of the West Saxons and Cantuarii," or Kent men, thus distinguishing the West Saxons and the Kent men who were not Saxons.

The word would not apply to Middlesex or Essex, which had been for a long time an integral part of Mercia, and it now seems to me exceedingly probable that these coins were, in fact, struck by Ecgbeorht as the initial coinage of the West Saxons, and ought to be placed at the head of the West Saxon series. Their mint-place, if so, was doubtless Winchester.

Let us now turn to the history and coins of Athelstan, the first of that name who reigned in England.

Under the year 836 in the Chronicle, which ought, as we saw in the earlier paper, to be 839, we have an entry which has caused a good deal of embarrassment. In MSS. A, B, and C, it reads, "Her Egbryht cyning forthferde. . . . se Egbryht ricsode xxxvii. wint [&] vii. monath & feng Ethelwulf Egbrehting to Wesseaxna

rice & he salde his suna Aethelstane Cantwara rice & East-Seaxna rice³ & Suthrigea & Suth Seaxna;" *i.e.* "Then Ecgbeorht the king died. . . . This Ecgbeorht reigned thirty-seven winters and seven months, and Ethelwulf the son of Ecgbeorht succeeded to the West Saxon kingdom, and he left his son Athelstan the kingdom of Kent, and the kingdoms of Essex, and Surrey, and of the South Saxons." The last phrase is ambiguous, and was understood by Florence of Worcester, i. 69, by William of Malmesbury, i. 108, ii. xi. f, and by Ethelwerd, as meaning that Athelstan was the son of Ethelwulf. Ethelwerd distinctly calls him Ethelwulf's eldest son, but this is clearly a mistake, and due to a misunderstood reading of what is really an ambiguous phrase. The true reading is preserved in MSS. D, E, and F of the Chronicle, in which we read, ". . . feng Aethelwulf his sunn to West Seaxna rice, and Aethelstan his *odher sunu* feng to Cantwara rice & to Sudhgrigan & to Sudhseaxna rice." This reading is followed by Roger de Hoveden and the Melrose Chronicle.

Apart from this early authority for the true meaning of the phrase, it is altogether quite improbable that Ethelwulf should have had a son old enough to become a ruler of East Anglia in 825.

It seems quite plain to me that Ecgbeorht had at least two sons, Ethelwulf and Athelstan, and it is not impossible that Athelstan was the elder son. If we are to credit the Book of Hyde, he also had a daughter, Edith, who became a nun in a religious house founded by St. Modwena (*op. cit.*, ch. xii.).

A good many years ago the Rev. Daniel Haigh identified

³ The word "rice" has dropped out in MS. A, but is preserved in B and C.

this Athelstan with an Athelstan who struck coins at this very time in East Anglia. Haigh was in doubt as to whether he was the son or grandson of Ecgbeorht, and had no earlier authorities for the former view than Roger of Howden and the Melrose Chronicle, and did not apparently know of the conclusive testimony just quoted. This was, however, a mere trifle. The important thing to remember is that it was Haigh who first suggested and (so far as proof is available in such cases) proved the identity of the Athelstan of the coins and the Athelstan the son of Ecgbeorht.

Under the year 823—which ought to be 825—we read in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as I stated in the former paper, that the men of Kent, and the men of Surrey, and the South Saxons and the East Saxons, submitted to him (*i.e.* to Ecgbeort); for formerly they had been unjustly forced from his kin. *And the same year the King of the East Anglians and the people sought the alliance and protection of King Ecbryht for dread of the Mercians; and the same year the East Anglians slew Beornwulf, King of Mercia.*

This sentence is somewhat ambiguous. East Anglia was at this time subject to Mercia, and it seems that a Mercian sub-king of East Anglia and his people called in the aid of Ecgbeorht to protect his people against the Mercians. Ecgbeorht apparently accepted the invitation, and proceeded to displace the *protégé* of the Mercian king whom the latter had put on the throne there. That *protégé* I believe to have been Beorhtric, whose name is Mercian, and who at this very time struck coins in East Anglia. Mr. Haigh has suggested, and it seems to me very probable, that this Beorhtric was the son of Berhtulf.

Beorhtric, *filius regis*, in fact, signs two charters of Berhtulf, dated in 840 and 845 (see Birch, Nos. 428 and 450). This was pointed out by Mr. Haigh, who, with the greatest probability, identifies this Beorhtric with the Beorhtric of the coins. As we have seen, Ecgbeorht actually coined money as King of the Angles, *i.e.* of East Anglia.

It was frequently the custom in Anglo-Saxon times, when a subordinate kingdom was conquered by a dominant one, for the individuality of the former to be preserved. This was done by the conquering sovereign appointing a deputy or dependent ruler to govern it, and in many cases it was his own son who was thus chosen. It was thus that Ecgbeorht, when he conquered Kent and the adjoining districts, put his son Ethelwulf over them, and made him its *regulus*, or subordinate king. If he did this in regard to Kent, he was much more likely to do it in regard to East Anglia, which was a much more remote district, and much more difficult to control, therefore, from Wessex, and which, in addition, had long had a life of its own, quite apart from the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. I believe that while, on its conquest, he made Ethelwulf King of Kent, so he similarly made his other son Athelstan King of East Anglia; and I believe, further, that in thus placing one of his sons over East Anglia, he was possibly restoring to that district a scion of the same royal house, namely, that of Kent, which had ruled it before the recent usurpation of Mercia there. This view completely explains the testimony of the coins, and it seems to me it is the only possible explanation of it, for the coins of an Athelstan, King of East Anglia, appear just at or after the time when Ecgbeorht became master of that kingdom.

This conclusion seems in every way the most probable. The only piece of evidence of any moment on the other side is that contained in two documents published by Kemble and Birch. In one of them we are told how a great meeting took place at Canterbury in the year 844, to confirm the decisions of the synod at Aclæa: "Aethelwifo Regi presente atque Aethelstano filio ejus," &c. It is curious that, notwithstanding this recital, the name of Aethelstan does not occur in the long list of witnesses appended to the document. The second is a deed of the same date, and is a memorandum of the confirmation of a grant by Osulf to Christ Church, Canterbury, of land at Estrestanhamstede; in this also we have the phrase "praesente Athelwulfo rege, & Athelstane filio ejus." In each case the phrase is a recital, and neither deed is an original one, and I am strongly inclined to suppose that the words "filio ejus" are a mistaken gloss for "fratre ejus." At all events, the evidence of these documents cannot outweigh that already given. Roger of Wendover calls Athelstan a son of Ethelwulf, but not born in wedlock, and adds that the latter gave him all the kingdoms which his own father, Egbeorht, had acquired by conquest, contenting himself only with Wessex. This seems like an effort at equating some contradictory testimony.

Let us now turn to the coins of Athelstan. That they were coined in East Anglia was, I think, most satisfactorily shown by Haigh. The letter A in the centre of the obverse stands for "Anglorum," just as M elsewhere does for "Merciorum," and it occurs on many of them [Pl. XVII. 11, 12]. It is clearly connected, as Haigh says, with the royal name and title on the same face of the coin. In addition to this, we have the fact

that several of the types on Athelstan's coins, as well as the moneyers, are identical with those of East Anglian kings.

Now for the date of Aethelstan. Haigh points out that in a hoard of 700 coins found at Dorking in 1817, of which the latest was one of Ethelberht of the West Saxons, who died in 866, several of Athelstan's coins occurred. A second hoard, found at Sevington in 1834, was probably concealed before 860, when Ethelberht came to the throne, and he was not represented among them. In this hoard there were also several coins of Athelstan. Thirdly, in a large hoard found at Gravesend in 1839, and which contained a rough specimen of the coinage of Alfred, who began to reign in 871, there were also several of Athelstan's coins. A more important hoard was the one found in 1894, of which the larger portion was presented to the British Museum by Sir A. W. Franks. In this there were a number of coins of Athelstan. Ethelwulf was the latest king otherwise represented, and he reigned 838-858. This enables us to approximately date Athelstan. But we can get much closer than this.

Haigh points out that the reverse of a coin of Athelstan, with precisely the same moneyer's name, Eadnod, is the same as that of a coin of Ludican of Mercia. These coins may be compared with PL XVIII. Nos. 9 and 10, *infra*. Ludican reigned for a few months over Mercia in 825.

The same moneyer occurs with the same type on a coin of Beornwulf (see *B. M. Cat., Mercia*, 114).

The moneyer Eadgar also occurs on coins of the same three kings; that of Beornwulf in the British Museum having been acquired among those presented in 1894 by Sir A. W. Franks.

Mon or Monna occurs on coins of Beornwulf and Aethelstan, but apparently not on those of Ludican. As Beornwulf reigned from 823 or 824 to 825, and Ludican only in the latter year; and as none of these moneyers occurs on the coins of the Mercian king Beorhtwulf (839-853), it seems to follow, as Mr. Haigh urges (p. 9), that Athelstan was reigning in or about the year 825, and we may, perhaps, accept his coins, with these three moneyers' names, as his earliest issues. The year 825 is the very period when Ecgbeorht became the master of East Anglia—so much the master that he styled himself, in one of his charters, "Rex Anglorum," meaning, not "King of the English," but "King of the Anglians of East Anglia." Athelstan, on one of his coins, also calls himself "Rex Ang.," *i.e.* "Rex Anglorum."

It seems to me there is no escape from the conclusion that when Ecgbeorht appropriated East Anglia in 825 he put his son Athelstan on its throne, and the latter at once began to coin money there in his own name. As there are no East Anglian charters extant dating from this period, it is not singular that we do not meet with Athelstan's name in diplomatic documents as we do that of Ethelwulf in the charters of Kent after his appointment as deputy-king there. This was during the latter's father's lifetime, and it would appear that with a single exception every transaction in land within the borders of Kent, and probably of Sussex, was shared in by the two kings as long as Ecgbeorht lived. It would be interesting to know how far the royal power was delegated, and it is certainly curious to read of the old king making grants with the consent and licence of his son. For us numismatists, what is important would be to ascertain whether Ethelwulf was permitted to coin

money during his father's lifetime. I am disposed to think that he was not, and that all the coinage of Kent during the life of Ecgbeorht was issued in the name and by the authority of the latter or of the archbishop. It would also be interesting to know what control the King kept over the archiepiscopal mint, so as to preserve the standard of the money. My reason for thinking that Ecgbeorht retained the sole power of coinage is that when Athelstan became King of Kent, and stood towards Ethelwulf in the same position that Ethelwulf stood towards Ecgbeorht, he struck no coins there. No coins of Athelstan are known either struck at a Kent mint or by a Kent moneyer. All his coins are East Anglian, and East Anglia no doubt remained in a great measure independent.

Let us now turn to this peaceable revolution in Southern England, which it seems to me has not been sufficiently attended to. So far as we know, all the time that Ethelwulf was acting as under-king in Kent, his brother Athelstan was acting as under-king in East Anglia. We judge this entirely from the large number of Athelstan's coins that have reached us, for in regard to any direct references to him in literature during this interval, we have none.

On the death of Ecgbeorht, however, we have a very extraordinary statement in the Chronicle, and I shall follow it as told in Codices D, E, and F. We there read, under the year 836—which ought to be 839—that Ecgbeorht died, and his son Ethelwulf succeeded to the West Saxon kingdom, and his other son, Athelstan, succeeded to the kingdoms of Kent, Surrey, and the South Saxons—the other codices also add Essex. This is amply confirmed by the evidence of the charters. Up to this

date Athelstan never occurs in a Kent charter, either as a principal or as a witness. After this he is found granting lands in Kent *as King*, and there can be no doubt that he then became King of Kent and the neighbouring provinces. Did he also continue to rule in East Anglia? We cannot positively say, but I think it more probable that he did not do so, but that he was succeeded as King there by Ethelweard, who may have been his son, or he may have been related to the earlier East Anglian kings, Ethelberht and Eadwald. Ethelweard was at all events pretty certainly a scion of the old Kentish royal race, and connected therefore with Athelstan by blood, since his name is formed on the same plan as those of its princes, and in these matters the Anglo-Saxons were very consistent.

Of Ethelweard we know nothing in literature. The much-belauded Anglo-Saxon Chronicle never mentions him, any more than it mentions the reign of Athelstan in East Anglia at all. All we know of him is from his coins. From them we learn that he must almost certainly have reigned in East Anglia between Athelstan and Eadmund, often known as St. Edmund. Among the moneyers of Athelstan, Aethelhelm, Reguel, Berner, Raegenhere or Reguner (who was probably a Dane), and Tuduwine also coined money for Ethelweard. On the other hand, Aethelhelm, Dudda, Eadmund, and Twiega coined money both for Ethelweard and Eadmund, while Athelstan and Eadmund had only one moneyer in common, namely, Aethelhelm. On the other hand, again, Ethelweard has no moneyers whatever peculiar to himself. When he came to the throne we don't know. Keary has conjecturally dated his reign as *circa*. 837 to *circa*. 850 A.D., and it is not improbable that he mounted the throne of East Anglia when Athelstan

mounted that of Kent, *i.e.* in 839, and reigned contemporaneously with Ethelwulf and Athelstan. He may not improbably have been Athelstan's son.

Let us now turn to the doings of Athelstan in Kent.

In a document dated in 839, which is preserved in a very indifferent copy, we have a conveyance of some property at Canterbury to a certain Dudda. The deed was signed at a place whose name is corrupt, and written An' Uniae, and is attested by Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons, and by Aethelstan simply as "king" (Birch, 426).¹

The next year we have a grant by "Athelwulf," as King of the West Saxons, of certain lands at Ashdown, in Berkshire, to Dudan, "his minister," *i.e.* thane, by whom, no doubt, the same person is meant. This deed was signed in the royal vil of Hampton, and is attested by *Athelstan episcopus* !!! (*id.*, 431).

In 841 Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons, grants certain land at "Holanbeorges tuun," *i.e.* Hoborough near Snodland, in Kent, to Beornmod, Bishop of Rochester. This is attested by "Aethelstan rex" (*id.*, 437).

In the year 842 Aethelwulf, who calls himself "King of the Southern peoples" ("rex Australium populorum"), grants some land near Rochester to his praelect Ceolmund. This deed is attested, *inter alios*, by "Edelstan rex."

On the 28th of May, 843, "Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons as well as the Kent men," granted lands at Cert or Chert, in Kent, to Aethelmod ("meo fideli ministro"). This deed was signed at the famous place, *famoso loco*, called Meranvord, and is attested, *inter alios*, by "Aethelstan rex" (*id.*, 442).

¹ In this deed Aethelwulf styles himself "rex."

In 844 (wrongly dated 880) Aethelwulf, who here styles himself *rex occidentalium Saxonum necnon eodem Deo donante Cantuariorum et omni Australi Anglorum populi Dei arridente*, grants some lands at Minety, in Wilts, to Malmesbury Abbey. This deed is attested by Athelstan, *rex Cantuariorum*.

In 844 a synod was held at Aclea, where a disputed succession to the estates of the ealdorman Oswlf was settled, which was attended by Aethelwulf, who styles himself very oddly "*rex occidentalium Anglorum*," and by Athelstan, here called, no doubt, as I have said, by mistake, his son, but his name does not occur among the attesting witnesses (*id.*, 445) which raises grave doubts about the deed.

A memorandum of a confirmation by the same Oswlf to Christ Church, Canterbury, and of the same date, makes the same mistake. The latter of these documents is phrased in very fantastic and suspicious language (*id.*, 446).

On the 16th of November, 845, Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons as well as of the Cantuarii, grants to Badonoth, his apparitor or somner, certain lands near Canterbury, at the desire of Alchere the ealdorman (*dux*), on the payment to him of fifteen mancuses. The deed is signed in the famous vil ("*famosa villa*") of Vueae or Uuae (?), and is attested, *inter alios*, by Aethelstan Rex (*id.*, 449).

In 850 Aethelwulf, King of the West Saxons, grants land at Dauntsey, in Wilts, to Malmesbury Abbey. This is signed, *inter alios*, by "Aethelbald *dux*," which probably means his son Aethelbald (*id.*, 457).

In the same year Aethelwulf grants land at Lenham, in Kent, to Alher, whom he calls "my prince" ("*meus princeps*"), and who is no doubt the Alchere above named.

This is signed, *inter alios*, by *Aedelbaldus dux, filius regis* and by *Aethelstan rex* (*id.*, 460).

In the same year Ethelwulf, King of the West Saxons, together with Ethelstan, King of Kent ("rex Kant."), gave to Ealhere, whom Ethelwulf calls "my humble and dear prince" ("humili atque delecto principi meo"), certain land outside Rochester in Kent. "Ethelstan rex" signs this deed as a witness (Birch, ii. 48). This is the last notice I can find of him, and probably marks the approximate date of his death.

NOTE.—I have had some difficulty with the orthography of the proper names in this paper. They are so variously spelt in documents and on the coins, and also in the Northern and Southern Editions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, that it is not possible to be consistent, if we are to quote the spelling of the documents as they stand.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

XI.

A SILVER PLAQUE OF CHARLES I AS PRINCE.

(See Plates XIX.-XXI.)

THE silver Plaque figured on Pls. XIX., XX., and given in its actual size, is one acquired by Sir John Evans in 1907. On the obverse it represents Charles I as a boy, on horseback, advancing three-quarters to the left. He is shown wearing a close-fitting embroidered doublet and full trunk hose, elaborate high boots, and spurs. His hat is adorned with a five-pronged jewel, each prong ending in a round knob, a plume of three feathers rising in front of the hat. His ruff is a "closed piped" one. He has a long scarf over his right shoulder, by which is hung his sword; another scarf, with a stiff fringe, round his left upper arm and one round the left knee; the badge of the Garter suspended by a ribbon round his neck. The horse is richly caparisoned; its head-ornament consists of a plume of three feathers rising from a phoenix in flames. The plaque is inscribed round the margin, "*The high and mighty Prince Charles Prince of Great Brittain and Ireland Duke of Yorke and Albany and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter.*"

On the reverse are engraved the Prince of Wales's feathers, rising from a crown, with the motto below, "*Ich Dien.*" The whole is mounted on a jewel-like, strap-work ornament.

This plaque recalls, in its more important particulars, the engraving by Renold Elstrack, of which a reproduction is given by Mr. Sidney Colvin, in pl. xiv. of his *Early Engraving and Engravers in England* (1545-1695), published by the British Museum in 1905.

The main differences between the engraving and the plaque are as follows :—

(1) On the hat represented in the engraving an aigrette rises above the three feathers. This does not appear on the plaque.

(2) In the engraving a landscape with mountains and a town beside a river are engraved below the horse. This is omitted on the plaque.

(3) In the engraving the horse's tail is much larger and more elaborately drawn than on the plaque.

(4) In the engraving the Prince of Wales's feathers are on a crown, supported by two angels seated. This appears behind the prince's head. In the plaque the angels are omitted, and the rest of the device is relegated to the reverse.

(5) In the engraving the inscription is given in lines, in the space to the spectator's left, beside the prince's head, in a circular compartment enclosed in strapwork. It runs, "*The high and mighty Prince Charles, Prince of Great Brittain and Ireland, Duke of Yorke and Albany, Marquis of Ormont, &c., and Knight of the most noble order of the Garter.*" The title "*Marquis of Ormont*" is not given on the plaque.

(6) The engraving is signed at the foot, in the lower left-hand corner, "*Renold Elstrack sculpsit.*" I can discern no signature on the plaque.

Mr. Colvin, in discussing the engraving, finds that it has affinities with the equestrian portraits of Cockson,

published a few years earlier, and with many contemporary French portraits, particularly with several of Henri IV by L. Gautier and others. He finds that the landscape background of the engraving is of foreign, not of English character, and suggests the influence of the school of Crispin de Passe.

The print in the first state is excessively rare. There exist a second and a third state. The face of the prince in the plaque is identical with that in the first state of the engraving.

In the second state of the print nothing is altered except the head of the figure, which is made older by several years.

In the third state, which was published on Charles's accession, the head is again changed to accord with his appearance at the age of twenty-four. The inscription there reads, "*The high and mighty Monarch Charles,*" &c.

Mr. Colvin finds it difficult to determine the exact date of the print in its first state. It is obviously not earlier than 1612, the date of Prince Henry's death. Charles was twelve years old when his brother died. He was not formally created Prince of Wales till 1616. As that title is not mentioned in his list of honours in either engraving or plaque, we may probably conclude, in spite of the presence of the feathers and motto in both, that the portrait belongs to the years 1614-15, when the prince was fourteen or fifteen years of age.

Mr. Colvin, it will be remembered, considers that the landscape recalls the school of Crispin de Passe, or van de Passe (1589-1637). It is, he says, usual to refer Elstrack's work to this school, though no special Crispin de Passe influence can be observed till about 1615.

Renold Elstrack (see Lionel Cust's "Foreign Artists of the Reformed Religion working in London, 1550-1560," vol. vii. *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society*) was of Liège (German, Lüttich; English, Lukeland), and was returned in the list of aliens in the ward of Bridge Without, Southwark, November, 1571, as "Reginold, . . . ten months old, son of Josephe Elstrage, a glasier." The father is a member of the Dutch Church, as Josephe Elstrack, in 1582-3. Renold Elstrack begins to sign engravings in England in the last years of Elizabeth.

Elstrack's portraits of 1615 and later were done in association with Simon van de Passe, or Passe. Simon Passe, in 1612, produced at the age of about seventeen, his earliest engraved portrait of Prince Henry. He lived in London between 1616 and 1622 (Colvin), and then for twenty-five years in Copenhagen, till his death. He published a small oval engraved portrait of Charles as Prince of Wales (example in British Museum). Mr. Colvin gives the date of this as 1613, but the face is too old for that date. Probably it should be read as 1618, though it is not clear. Passe's chief activity in England, however, seems to have been the engraving of counters and of portraits, principally of royal personages, on small, thin, flat plaques of silver—or more rarely of gold or pewter.

Examples of such plaques, of which two or more instances, not always absolutely identical, frequently occur, are given in the illustrated edition of *Medallic Illustrations*, British Museum, 1904, pl. xvi. The reverses are generally also engraved, usually with heraldic devices. *Med. Illust.*, pl. xvi. No. 5, shows a portrait of Prince Charles, who is represented as perhaps slightly older than on our plaque. This example in the

British Museum is signed, "Simon Passaeus sculpsit" (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 217, No. 67). I can find no trace of either initials or signature on the Evans specimen of this small plaque [Pl. XXI. 1].

It is noticeable that, on both these examples, the prince's plumes are given on the reverse, which represents the prince on horseback, with a landscape background, while the title of "Prince of Wales" is omitted from both inscriptions.

An example of such a plaque was sold in the Montagu Collection (Sale of May 24, 1897, No. 90), and is described in the catalogue as having the initials *S.P.* over the word *et*. The landscape is there stated to be a distant view of Hampton Court.

As I write (February, 1908), my husband has acquired another example of a similar plaque [Pl. XXI. 2] (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 216, No. 66). It is smaller than the one in Pl. XXI. 1, and represents Charles as Prince of Wales. It is signed on the reverse "*Si: Pa: fec:*" and dated *Anno D. 1616*. The face is rather longer and looks slightly older than in Pl. XXI. 1. The hair is somewhat shorter. The bust is drawn three-quarters to the right. He wears ruff and armour, and the Garter ribbon and badge. The only inscription on the obverse is, "*Carolus Princeps Walliae*" below the bust. On the reverse it runs, "*Illustriss: et poten: Pr: Carolus Princeps Walliae Dux Com: Yor: et Alb Etc.*" The example is pierced. The reverse, in place of the mounted figure, &c., of Pl. XXI. 1, bears a crowned coat-of-arms, with a label, within the Garter.

The plaque [Pls. XIX., XX.] is, so far as I am aware, unique.

As regards the process of manufacture of such plaques, Sir John Evans (*Proc. Num. Soc.* of 1902, pp. 33, 34) suggested that, after the first plaque was engraved, a die was

made and the subsequent examples struck from that. Mr. Colvin doubts the possibility of this method (*Early Engr., &c., of England*, p. 103), and decides that the lines on all examples are actually engraved lines. He suggests that copies were taken by rubbing a paper impression from a first engraved plaque on to the face of a fresh one, and then following closely, with the graver, the lines so transferred.

The work of the plaque [Pl. XIX.] is not so much in the style of the finished engraving as is usual with Simon Passe [Pl. XXI. 1, 2], but it still may suggest his handiwork made after the engraving by Renold Elstrack, or it may be engraved by Elstrack himself.

It is not easy to see for what particular use other than as a "keepsake"—to be put in a more or less elaborate case—such a plaque can have been made. Many of Simon Passe's silver plaques show rings or holes for suspension, and may then have been worn as personal ornaments. The plaque [Pl. XIX.] shows no hole or ring, and is too large for wear. Such plaques were probably distributed on occasions of interest to privileged persons—or as royal gifts to foreign Courts. One of Simon Passe's plaques represents Maria, Infanta of Spain, daughter of Philip III and sister of Philip IV (pl. xvi. No. 9, *Med. Illust.*, illust. ed., 1904)—a portrait probably executed about 1616.

It will be remembered that a marriage was proposed between this princess and Prince Henry of England as early as 1611. It was the period of child-marriages. Philip IV, the Infanta's brother, was married at eleven years of age, and began his married life at fifteen and a half in November, 1620. Prince Henry died in 1612 (*Med. Illust.*, vol. i. p. 218, No. 70), and negotiations were at once continued in favour of his young brother Charles.

They fell through at that stage, but were revived in 1616, and continued till 1624, when they were finally broken off. The whole of the amazing story has recently been retold by Major Martin Hume (*Court of Philip IV.*, London, Eveleigh Nash, 1907). The presents given on either side during the courtship were of great value and curious workmanship. That thrifty Scotsman, James I, sends them out to Charles in Madrid, in the later stages of the wooing, with many injunctions in letters to his "dear Baby" as to how and when and to whom they may be suitably presented. Most of such presents were returned when the courtship was broken off. The plaque, representing the Infanta, by Simon Passe, is put at about 1616. The engraving of Prince Charles on horseback, by Elstrack, is dated by Mr. Colvin to about 1614-15. It is conceivable that our plaque was engraved by Simon Passe, or by Elstrack himself, from that print, in its first state, about the same date, and may have been a portrait sent out to Spain to tempt the young Infanta, when the negotiations were renewed for the marriage, so dear to James's heart, in 1616, with a picture of her proposed youthful bridegroom, representing him on horseback, a fair young gallant, to a Court where horsemanship was much esteemed and works of curious art highly valued. The badge of the Prince of Wales's feathers may have been introduced, proleptically, in order to impress that Court (since the game of "brag" was boldly played by both Spain and England at the time), though the actual dignity had not yet been conferred.

MARIA MILLINGTON EVANS.

XII.

A NOTE ON WILLIAM HOLLE, CUNEATOR OF THE MINT.

WHILST seeking in the Calendars of State Papers for some information concerning the engravers of the Mint in the early days of Charles I, I came across frequent notices of Edward Green, and occasional references to John Gilbert.

One of these documents bears upon a question raised by Mr. Grueber in a very interesting though short paper concerning William Hole or Holle, which was published in the Fourth Series of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. vii. pp. 346 to 350.

Mr. Lionel Cust, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, mentions Hole as having flourished from about 1600 to 1630, and such documentary evidence as presented itself to Mr. Grueber at the moment of writing led him to suggest that the date of William Hole's death was unknown. He therefore thought it probable that Hole continued in office "till the beginning of the reign of Charles I, whose early coinage varies so little from that of James I, and that he worked on until the appointment of Nicholas Briot as chief engraver in 1633, in which year we may place his death, as his appointment was for life."

A systematic search through the State Papers takes

some leisure, and it is therefore not strange that so extremely busy a man as Mr. Grueber should have overlooked the few lines which bring before us the "Grant with survivorship to John Gilbert and Edw. Green of the office of Chief Graver of the Mint and Graver of the King's seals, ensigns and arms, in place of W^m. Holle deceased," dated September 15, 1624.¹

There is another entry ² dated June ? (with a query), 1625, granting these positions to John Gilbert together with *John Hitch*. It apparently did not take effect, as it is unsigned, and there is evidence of the work of Edward Green as Chief Engraver up till the year 1640;³ it, however, repeats the word "deceased" after the name of Holle, and so corroborates the former document.

To this Edward Green various interesting orders are issued in the State Papers during the following years, with regard to the coinage of Charles. There is a petition from Nicholas Briot⁴ to be associated with Green as chief engraver in the place of John Gilbert, who "is willing to surrender that office" on October 2, 1630, whilst it appears that a pension⁵ had already been accorded to the latter with a view to his retirement in 1628. On these and many like warrants I cannot enter here: my business at present is with William Holle, who was, it appears, made⁶ "Head Sculptor of the

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series by Green, 1623-25, p. 340 (doquet), vol. clxxii.

² *Ibid.*, Series by Bruce, 1625-26, vol. iii. p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, Series by Hamilton, 1639-40, p. 349, vol. ccccliii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Series by Bruce, 1629-31, p. 353, vol. clxxiv.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1628-29, p. 375, vol. cxx., November 12, 1628.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Series by Green, 1611-18, p. 542, vol. xcvi.

Iron for money in the Tower and elsewhere for life," by a grant dated May 29, 1618, and whose demise took place, as we have seen, some time shortly before September 15, 1624.

Mr. Grueber has called attention to the remarkably fine gold coinage of 1619, especially the rose-ryal, the spur-ryal, and the angel; he also mentions the laurel and its parts. He writes: "As these changes in the gold coins occurred in the year following the appointment of William Hole as cuneator, it is, I think, fairly certain that the new designs were due to his ingenuity."

Though some of these coins are even more carefully executed than those of William Holle's predecessor, Charles Anthony, we find that the laurels, half-laurels, and quarter-laurels are not only of rougher design, but of very uneven workmanship. I would, therefore, suggest that, whilst recalling Mr. Grueber's expression of opinion that the later coins of James I much resemble the earlier of Charles I—which latter, it now appears, cannot be the work of Holle—we may perhaps attribute the laurel and its parts to other workers at the Mint, possibly to John Gilbert or Edward Green in a subordinate capacity, but more likely to the former, as the character changes slightly in the workmanship of Charles I's second bust. We have seen that the period⁷ of Gilbert's activity terminated on the final surrender of his patent, on October 13, 1630, whilst that of Edward Green can be traced up till January 18, 1639-40, and we have reason to believe he survived till⁸ 1645, when he was succeeded by Edward Wade and Thomas Simon.

⁷ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* by Bruce, 1629-31, p. 359, October 13, 1630, vol. clxxiv.

⁸ *Num. Chron.*, First Ser., Vol. iv. p. 215.

Another entry in the State Papers of December 30, 1619,⁹ strengthens this theory, for I find a "warrant for the Warders of the Mint to make reasonable allowance to John Holle, Engraver of the Mint, for patterns made by him of the King's gold moneys, &c., and for the labours of other gravers and workmen employed by him."

We notice that the Christian name is here given as John, not William. This may probably be a mistake, as I find no other mention of John Holle, but it may point to another member of the family, for the title "Chief" does not precede the word "Engraver." In any case it is apparent that William Holle was not alone in engraving the gold coinage, and the great variations in the workmanship of the laurels would incline one to attribute these to his coadjutors, whilst assigning the finer rose-ryals, spur-ryals, and angels to the "Head Sculptor of the Iron for money."

In the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. Cust gives as his authority for his list of Hole's engravings Dod's *MS. History of Engravers*, and here we find the dates which misled both Mr. Cust and Mr. Grueber, they having no reason to doubt their possible accuracy.

Dod states that Hole engraved a portrait of Sir John Hayward in 1627 and one of John Clavel in 1628, but I find on inquiry in the Print-Room of the British Museum that the book containing the presentment of Hayward is dated 1616, not 1627, whilst that of Clavel of 1628 is not by Hole, but by William Marshall.

There is, it is true, a broadsheet not mentioned by

⁹ Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series by Green, 1619-23, p. 107, vol. cxi.

Dod, representing Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, dated 1646, and signed "W. Hole," but as Mr. Sidney Colvin remarks in his *Early Engravings and Engravers of England* (p. 98), it is very inferior in workmanship to the other prints bearing his signature.

As we now know approximately the date of Holle's death, we must either assume that the picture of Essex is by a later W. Hole, or that he and the "Head Sculptor of the Iron for money" are not one and the same man.

Personally, having compared the engravings in question, I should be inclined to think the broadsheet dated 1646 is by another artist, and so need not disturb us, and though the variant in spelling from the "W. Hole" of the signature to the "Wm. Holle" of the State Papers seems curiously constant, we cannot place much reliance on the orthography of those days.

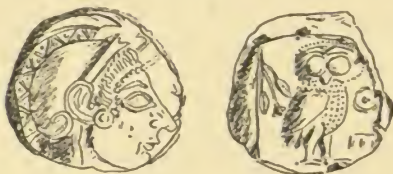
A fine engraving of Charles I by our artist at first sight attracts attention, as it was not published until after the king's accession, but Mr. Colvin shows, on page 97 of the work above quoted, that it has been altered from an original, now lost, executed whilst Charles was still Prince of Wales. This fact serves as a corroboration of the date of Holle's death, inasmuch as the portrait was, it appears, not produced by him, and was subsequently finished by another hand, with changes in the lettering and with the signature partly erased.

I placed these observations before Mr. Grueber, to whose constant kindness and unfailing patient teaching I owe any slight knowledge on numismatics I may possess, and by his wish I communicate to this Society the discovery of the date of William Holle's death, together with my deductions consequent thereon.

HELEN FARQUHAR.

MISCELLANEA.

A TETRADRACHM WITH THE NAME OF HIPPIAS.



THE Athenian tetradrachm shown above is in the possession of Mr. J. R. McClean, whose important collection of Greek coins is being incorporated with that of the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. I am publishing it at the owner's wish.

Judging by its primitive, but careful, design and fabric, it belongs to the earlier period of the first great section of the Athenian coinage (*vide* pl. i. and ii. of *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, "Attica"). It bears, in addition to the usual reverse legend ΑΘΕ, two letters ΠΙ in front of the head. They are in lower relief than the inscription on the reverse, and may have been added after the die had been in use for some time.

Monsieur Babelon, not long ago (*vide Corolla Numismatica*, pp. 1 to 9), published an obol with the inscription ΗΙΠ on the reverse, and he recognizes in it a coin issued by, and bearing the name of, the tyrant Hippias.

This view, so far as I am aware, has met with general approbation. The legend on our tetradrachm consists of only two signs instead of three, and it might seem rash to recognize in them the first portion of ΣΑΙΠΙΠ. But does the existence of the obol with its accepted reading ΗΙΠΠΙΑΣ leave us an alternative?

Yet the tetradrachm occupies in one respect a different position from the obol, viz. in that it leaves no room for

doubt as to where it has been struck. Alike its workmanship and the AΘE on the reverse mark it as Athenian.

We can only conjecture as to the time and cause of its issue. A likely occasion appears to be the short space of time when the tyrant found himself besieged on the Acropolis, immediately before his banishment when, in order to assert his rule with special force, he may have caused his name to be placed on the die then in use at the Temple-mint. The act would not improbably be looked upon by the citizens as sacrilegious, and all such coins (probably but few had been struck) were doubtless, so far as possible, withdrawn immediately from circulation and melted down. Fortunately, this one coin, which is almost "uncirculated," escaped through being quickly lost or hidden.

Monsieur Babelon has pointed out that Hippias was not the first to place his name on coins. He could, if he wished, plead earlier instances in exculpation of what he did. We might add, perhaps, that he had in his, doubtless widely known, character of reformer of the far-famed Athenian coinage a special incentive to record himself thus. Hence, perchance, the recurrence of his name on the obol which, as Monsieur Babelon shows, must have been struck outside Athens, despite the Athenian types. He conjecturally mentions Sigeium and Lampsacus as mints from which the obol may have been issued. He does not press this attribution, because the corn-ear on the reverse is not met with on the coins of these cities. Mr. McClean, likewise in the spirit of simple conjecture, has suggested as its source Orchomenos, which in early times occupied a prominent place among Boeotian towns. On the later coins of this mint we constantly meet with the corn-ear. The small archaic coins bear the *sprouting* corn-grain, both being the same object in different stages of development. The weight of the obol, a fraction over 10 grains, is the same as that of some of the early coins of Orchomenos, *e.g.* *Brit. Mus. Cat.*, "Central Greece," No. 18.

This attribution also accounts for the aspirate letter, well known from early Boeotian coins. Nor does what we know of the history of the time militate against the assumption, for the Boeotians in alliance with Chalcis supported Hippias in his attempt to recover the dominion of Athens. Monsieur Babelon has pointed out that the remarkable tetradrachm struck by Chalcis and the Boeotians, and now preserved in the collection at Berlin (see Imhoof-Blumer, *Monnaies grecques*, p. 221, No. 55), is a record of that alliance.

It has been suggested to me that the issue of our tetradrachm was one—and not the least—of the misdeeds of Hippias which precipitated his downfall. The conjecture seems a tempting one. In that case the coin must have been struck before the tyrant found himself besieged on the Acropolis.

But whatever the time and occasion of its issue, the fact remains that we now possess an Athenian tetradrachm with the name of Hippias.

E. J. SELTMAN.



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12



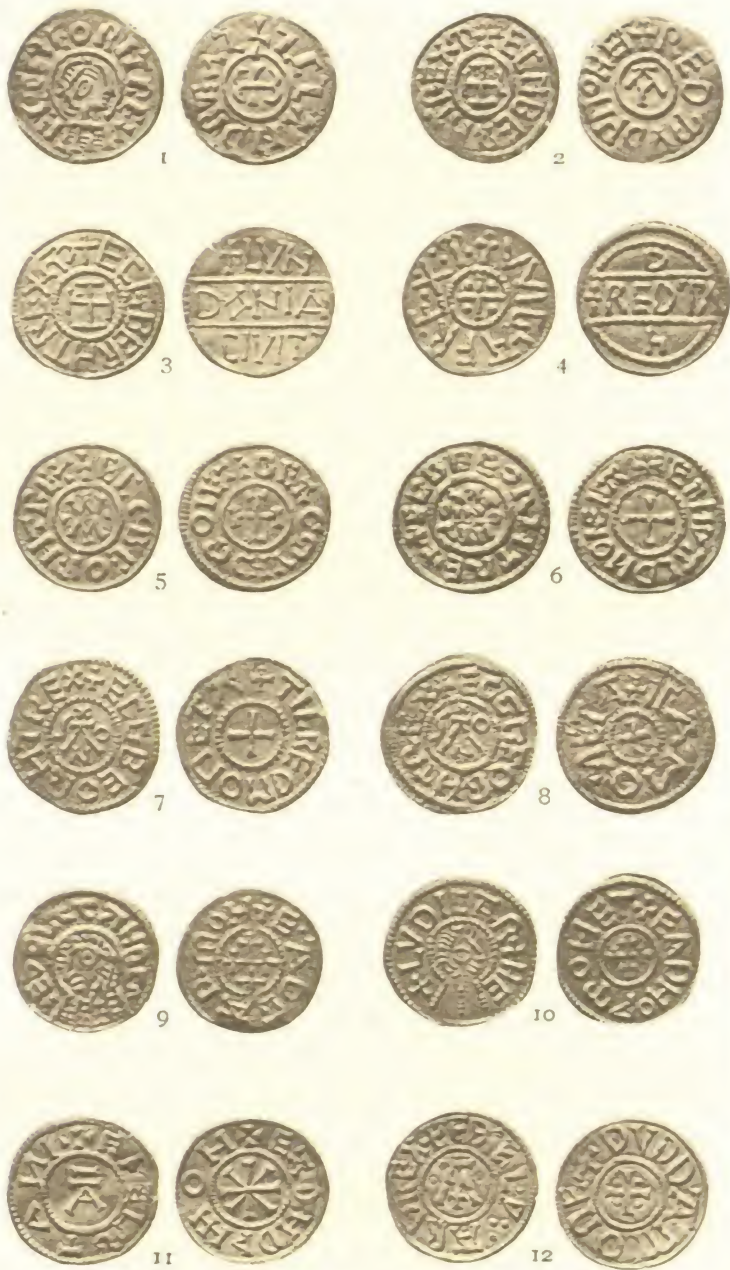
13



COINS OF EGBEORHT



COINS OF ECGBEORHT



COINS OF ECGBEORHT
AND HIS SON ATHELSTAN



SILVER PLAQUE OF CHARLES I AS PRINCE

(Obverse)



SILVER PLAQUE OF CHARLES I AS PRINCE
(Reverse)



FIG. 1



FIG. 2

SILVER PLAQUETTES OF CHARLES I. AS PRINCE

By SIMON PASSE

XIII.

EPHESIAN TESSERAE.

THERE were struck at Ephesus, probably quite early in Imperial times, some curious bronze tesserae, bearing on the *obverse* the signature $\Sigma\text{K}\omega\text{Π}$ (unexplained), which numismatists are agreed in excluding from the series of current coins. The specimens in the British Museum were described by me in *B. M. C., Ionia*, p. 70, as follows:—



Obv.— $\Sigma \Phi$ Stag kneeling, with head turned back; beneath $\Sigma\text{K}\omega\text{Π}$: border of dots.

Rev.— $\text{K}\eta\rho\iota\lambda\iota\varsigma\omega\delta\epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\rho\iota\text{N}$ Bee.
Æ 75.

Obv.—Id.

Rev.— $\text{K}\eta\rho\iota\lambda\iota\varsigma\omega\delta\epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\rho\iota\text{N}$ Bee.
Æ 75.

[*B. M. C., Ionia*, Pl. xi. 10.]

Obv.—Id.

Rev.— $\text{K}\eta[\text{P}]\iota\lambda\iota\varsigma\omega\delta\epsilon\pi\rho\sigma\pi\alpha\lambda\upsilon\rho\iota\text{N}$ Bee.
Æ 71.

To these must be added a variety mentioned by Eckhel—

Obv.—Id.

Rev.—ΚΗΡΙΑΙΩΔΕΠΡΟΣΠΑΛΥΡΡΙΝ Bee.

Æ III.

Referring to Chishull's remarks on these tesserae in Haym's *Tesoro Britannico*, vol. ii., Eckhel says, "Facile consentio cum viro erudito hos numulos monetam non fuisse, verum tesserae quoddam genus aut quidquid aliud quod pharmacopoeiae servierit ad divulgandam medicinam suam;" in other words, that they were druggists' tokens, issued for the purpose of advertising the sale of a medicament compounded of bees-wax, *κηρός*, offered as a specific against (*πρός*) some malady known as *πάλυρις* or *πάλυρρις*. Such a hypothesis is certainly worth consideration, and not to be rejected merely for lack of evidence of a similar use of metal tickets in ancient times.

In support of it there is a mass of information from sources, both ancient and mediaeval, concerning various preparations, composed mainly of bees-wax and honey, which were credited with marvellous curative properties for all sorts of diseases. From a recent work on bees¹ I quote the following passage concerning the popularity of such recipes in olden times: "There was a famous preparation called *Ocymel*, which was in great vogue in mediaeval times.² It was an infallible cure for sciatica, gout, and kindred ailments. Bees-wax was also believed to have exceptional curative powers for all sorts of human

¹ Edwards, T., *The Lore of the Honey Bee* (London, 1908), ch. iii., "Bee-masters in the Middle Ages."

² This remedy, *ἀγόμελα*, was popular also among the ancients.

ills. The supposed curative powers of bees-wax in its natural state, however, were as nothing compared with its capabilities when distilled. The preparation, known as Oil of wax, and famous at the time all the world over, seems to have come nearer the ideal of a panacea, or cure-all, than anything else before or since. Miraculous portents seem to have accompanied its preparation, for we are told that "in the coming forth of this Oile there appeareth in the Receiver the foure Elements, the Fire, the Aire, the Water, and the Earth, right marvellous to see," &c., &c.

All this may be accepted as presumptive evidence confirmatory, so far as it goes, of the conjecture supported by Eckhel; but still there is no hint of the nature of the malady called *πάλυρος* or *πάλυρις*, for which *κήριλλις* or *κήριλις* is supposed to have been the remedy.

So long, therefore, as Eckhel's opinion remains only a plausible conjecture, we may be excused for suggesting alternative explanations, and in B. M. C., *Ionica*, p. 70, I have already drawn attention to another equally conjectural hypothesis, viz. that the puzzling legend on these tesserae may be one of the mysterious *Ἐπίσια γράμματα*, or magic formulae used sometimes as charms (cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Ant. gr. et rom.*, s.v. "Ephesia"). Babelon, in his valuable *Traité des Monnaies grecques et romaines*, tom. i. p. 680, accepts this view, adding that "il est évident qu'on doit rechercher l'origine de l'usage de ces phylactères monétiformes dans les rites secrets du culte de l'Artémis éphésienne, sur lesquels se sont greffées des pratiques du gnosticisme oriental."

Now all this still leaves us quite in the dark with regard to the purpose for which these charms (if they be

charms) were struck. I may, perhaps, be allowed, at the risk of incurring the charge of "multiplying words without knowledge," to submit an additional conjecture—*Are these tesserae Bee-charms?*

There can be no doubt that the honey-bee, as a constant type, dating from the very beginning of the Ephesian coinage, was a sacred symbol connected with the cultus of the great goddess of Ephesus; but it also implies that bee-culture must have been one of the chief occupations of the country-people round about, and that a rich harvest of honey was an important source of wealth to the whole territory of the city.

From numerous ancient authorities, and notably from Virgil's 4th *Georgic*, as well as from the works of mediaeval and modern writers on apiculture, we learn what unremitting watchfulness and attention, by day and night throughout the year, a bee-master had to bestow upon his hives in order to secure a remunerative crop of honey; and especially what precautions are necessary in early summer, when swarms are leaving the hives, in order to keep them within his own property, and to lure the bees to cluster near their old hives. The swarming season must therefore have been always, as it still is, an anxious time for the bee-keeper. Among the many time-honoured precautionary measures, discarded as antiquated superstitions by modern scientific apiarians, none has been more persistent, throughout the ages, than the ancient custom of *ringing home* the swarm to settle on a branch of a tree in close proximity to the hive prepared to receive it.

Even nowadays, in some primitive rural villages in England, when the bees are swarming in May or June, the clanging note may still be heard of metal striking

against metal. Some old-fashioned hive-owner is ringing home his bees as his father did before him, and as he is advised to do in one of his old Bee-books, where he reads that "when the bees are busie in their dance play them a fit of mirth on a Bason, Warming-pan, or Kettle, to make them more speedily light." Cf. *Virg., Georg.*, iv. 150—

"Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Jupiter ipse
Addidit, expediam, pro qua mercede, canoros
Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae,
Dictae coeli regem pavere sub antro."

Now, although the opinion that these Ephesian tesserae are simply apothecaries' advertisements has much to be said for it, may not something also be urged in favour of an alternative hypothesis, viz. that they were charms of some sort (possibly *Ἐφίσια γράμματα*); and, granting this, may we not venture a step further, and suggest that they may have been intended for Bee-charms?

It is acknowledged by Eckhel that *κήριλλις* is derived from *κηρός*, bees-wax (cf. *κήρινθος*, bee-bread); and if we could connect the other unexplained word, *πάλυρις* or *πάλυρρις*, also with bee-culture, the proposition would not seem untenable, especially when we remember that the legend *ΚΗΡΙΑΙΣ ΩΔΕ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΛΥΡΙΝ* is written round a flying bee.

The last element of the word *πάλυρις* or *πάλυρρις* would seem to be *ὑρον*, a bee-hive, cf. *ὑρίς* and *ὑρίσος*, a woven or wicker basket, such as might well serve as a hive. Whether it is possible to regard the first portion of the word, *παλ-* as = *πάλιν*, is much more doubtful.⁵

⁵ But cf. similar compound words with *πάλιν*, e.g. *παλλίωξιν* (*πάλιν* and *ιωπή*).

However this may be, *πάλυρις* or *πάλυρρις* is suggestive of the hive prepared for the reception of the homeless swarm of honey-bees; and thus the inscription on the tesserae may possibly have been a charm or spell to call the bees home (*ᾧδε πρὸς πάλυριν*)—meant, perhaps, to be chanted by the hive-owner, while, according to the ancient rite, he rattled his brass charms in a resounding pot or kettle. Cf. Virg., *Georg.*, iv. 62.

" . . . Huc tu jussos adsperge saporos,
Trita melisphylla et cerinthaë ignobile gramen;
Tinnitusque cie et Matris quate cymbala circum.
Ipsae consident medicatis sedibus, ipsae
Intima more suo sese in cunabula condent."

In conclusion, I may repeat that the explanation here hazarded is purely hypothetical, and I have little doubt that it will be generally passed over as too fanciful to be convincing. But I think it is hardly more so than that which has been endorsed by the cautious Eckhel. My sole excuse for offering a new suggestion is that these enigmatical tesserae still await an interpreter; and, if my remarks happen to stimulate others to further investigations, they will have served their purpose. "*Hypotheses non fingo*" is an excellent axiom, and worthy of all respect; but, too slavishly followed, it tends to a lazy acquiescence in agnosticism. Huxley, one of our greatest agnostic scientists, was conscious of this when he said, "Do not allow yourselves to be misled by the common notion that a hypothesis is untrustworthy simply because it is a hypothesis" (*Lectures to Working Men*, 1867).

BARCLAY V. HEAD.

XIV.

THE LEADEN TOKEN-COINAGE OF EGYPT UNDER THE ROMANS.

(See Plate XXII.)

IN 1900 I contributed a chapter to Messrs. Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth's volume on "Fayûm Towns and their Papyri," dealing, among other questions relating to the coins found in the excavations, with the leaden pieces from various sites, which were taken to represent a token-money for low values. Some of the specimens from the first season's work at Behnesa, the ancient Oxyrhynchus, were therein described. As, however, the explorations resumed by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt for the Egypt Exploration Fund on this site, and continued during the winters of 1903-1907, have produced a large number of additional examples of these leaden pieces, it seems desirable to give a fuller account of the types found there, and to discuss them further, with the addition of such information as can be gathered from a study of other collections.

The types that are described in the following list are all that I have been able to identify among the specimens found. A considerable number of the pieces were quite illegible, and not only was the general average of preservation poor, but many examples were of such barbarous execution as to obscure the meaning of the figures upon them.

1. *Obv.*—Bust of Athene r., wearing crested helmet and draped: rough oval border of thick line.

Rev.—Nike advancing l., wearing long chiton with diplois, holding out wreath in r. hand, in l. palm over shoulder: in field to l., $\frac{O}{Z}$: rough oval border of thick line. [Pl. XXII. 1.]

Forty specimens. Usually struck on a thick and fairly round flan of 20-25 mm. diameter. The execution is rough, especially on the reverse, where the letters in the field often appear as a large pellet with a wavy line descending from it. On some examples Nike seems to be standing on a globe; but this may be only an exaggeration of her feet.

2. *Obv.*—As last, without border, or with a faint border of dots.

Rev.—As last, without letters in field: border usually absent.

Forty-nine specimens, all smaller and thinner than the last, and of more irregular shape; diameter, 16-20 mm. The work is very poor.

3. *Obv.*—As 1.

Rev.—As 1, but Nike r., and no letters in field.

Two specimens. Very similar to 1 in size, shape, and execution; diameter, 23-24 mm.

4. *Obv.*—Bust of Athene as 1: in front, spear upright: circular border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1: letters in field absent, or represented by irregular marks: circular border of dots.
[Pl. XXII. 2.]

Forty specimens. Very varied, being struck on flans

of different sizes and thicknesses, from 15 to 24 mm. in diameter; the work is in a few instances passable, but usually rude, and sometimes barbarous.

5. *Obv.*—As last, with bipennis instead of spear.

Rev.—As last; in field to l., $\frac{O}{W}$. [Pl. XXII. 3.]

Three specimens. Of very rough execution, struck on thin flans; diameter, 20–21 mm.

6. *Obv.*—As 1 : circular border of dots.

Rev.—Laurel-wreath.

Six specimens. General style fair; flans thick and well-rounded; diameter, 20–21 mm.

7. *Obv.*—Athene advancing r., wearing crested helmet, chiton, and peplos, with small shield on l. arm and spear raised in r. hand, attacking serpent erect l. in front of her : border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1 : in field to l., $\frac{O}{Z}$: border of dots.

[Pl. XXII. 4.]

Seventeen specimens. Usually struck on thick but rather badly shaped flans; diameter, 17–23 mm. The work is always rough.

8. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—As last, but Nike r.

Three specimens. This type may be classed with the last in style; diameter, 19–26 mm.

9. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Zeus seated l. on throne, with himation over legs, holding out Nike flying r. with wreath on his r. hand, resting l. on sceptre : to r., altar : border of dots. [Pl. XXII. 5.]

Seven specimens. On the whole fairly executed; flan large but thin; diameter, 23-28 mm.

10. *Obv.*—Athene standing l., wearing helmet and long chiton, holding out Nike on r. hand and resting l. on spear: double border of thick line.

Rev.—Nike advancing r. with wreath and palm: double line border.

One specimen. Very poor work; diameter, 23 mm.

11. *Obv.*—As last, with altar on l.: border of single thick line.

Rev.—Figure standing l. (? Eusebeia), wearing long chiton, with r. hand over altar, cornucopias on l. arm: thick line border. [Pl. XXII. 6.]

One specimen. This piece is in poor condition, but seems to be fairly executed; flan thick and round; diameter, 21 mm.

12. *Obv.*—Distyle portico, with angular pediment, in which is a disk: within, statue of Athene standing l., wearing crested helmet and long chiton, holding out Nike r. with wreath on r. hand, resting l. on spear: line border.

Rev.—Nike as l.: in field to l., $\frac{O}{\Sigma}$: line border.

[Pl. XXII. 7.]

Fifteen specimens. Usually struck on thick, rather irregular flans; diameter, 20-26 mm. The work is very rough.

13. *Obv.*—Athene seated l., wearing helmet (?), chiton, and peplos: beside throne, shield.

Rev.—Nike as l.

Two specimens. Both in very poor condition; diameter, 25-26 mm.

14. *Obv.*—Eusebeia standing l., wearing long chiton and peplos, holding in r. hand patera over altar, in l. cornucopiae: border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1: border of dots.

Forty-four specimens. Some examples show fair work, but the majority are poor, and struck on badly shaped flans; diameter, 16–19 mm.

15. *Obv.*—Figure standing l., radiate, wearing short chiton and cothurni, holding out on r. hand Nike flying r. with wreath, resting l. on spear: border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1: border of dots.

Twelve specimens. Generally in fair style, and struck on round flans; diameter, 18–22 mm.

16. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Nike r.: otherwise as last. [Pl. XXII. 8.]

Two specimens. Diameter, 18–20 mm.

17. *Obv.*—Emperor r. on horseback, carrying aquila over shoulder: border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1: border of dots. [Pl. XXII. 9.]

Three specimens. Similar work to last two types; diameter, 15–20 mm.

18. *Obv.*—Two heads facing: border of dots.

Rev.—Nike as 1: border of dots.

One specimen. In poor condition; diameter, 20 mm.

19. *Obv.*—Three-quarter length figure of Nilus reclining l., crowned with lotus, himation over legs and l. arm: r. hand outstretched, cornucopiae on l. arm.

Rev.—Bust of Athene r., wearing crested helmet, chiton, and aegis: in front, $\overline{\text{KE}}$.

[Pl. XXII. 10.]

One specimen. This piece, though broken at the edges,

is otherwise well-preserved, and shows good workmanship; diameter, 19 mm.

20. *Obv.*—Nilus reclining l., crowned with lotus, himation over legs and l. arm: in r. hand reed, on l. arm cornucopiae: below, crocodile r.: border of dots.

Rev.—Three ears of corn bound together: in field, L Δ: border of dots.

Two specimens. Both much worn, but apparently fairly good work; diameter, 20–22 mm.

21. *Obv.*—As last.

Rev.—Euthenia reclining l., crowned with corn, wearing long chiton, holding ears of corn (l) in r. hand and cornucopiae on l. arm: in front, a genius (?): in ex., L B: border of dots.

Two specimens. Both in poor condition, but apparently of fair work; diameter, 18–19 mm.

22. *Obv.*—As 20.

Rev.—Figure on horseback galloping r.: in ex., L Δ: border of dots.

One specimen. Fairly good work; diameter, 19 mm.

23. *Obv.*—As 20.

Rev.—Two fishes, upwards: between them, L S: border of dots.

One specimen. Fair work; diameter, 17 mm.

24. *Obv.*—As 20, but without crocodile below: double border of dots.

Rev.—Reaper r., wearing pointed cap, with sickle in r. hand, cutting three stalks of corn: in field, L [f]: double border of dots.

One specimen. Fairly good work; diameter, 18 mm.

25. *Obv.*—As 20, but in place of crocodile below, line of dots.

Rev.—Euthenia standing l., crowned with corn, wearing long chiton : r. hand raised, cornucopias on l. arm : border of dots.

One specimen. Fair work ; diameter, 20 mm.

26. *Obv.*—Three-quarter length figure of Nilus reclining l., crowned with lotus, himation over legs, holding out on r. hand mummiform figure of Osiris to front, on l. arm cornucopias : border of dots.

Rev.—Canopus with head of Osiris r., facing Canopus with head of Isis l., both on bases : on r., figure of Harpocrates l., with r. hand to mouth and sceptre in l. : in ex., L [7] : border of dots.

One specimen. Fairly good work ; diameter, 17 mm.

27. *Obv.*—As last (apparently) : double border of dots.

Rev.—Bust of Sarapis r., wearing modius and himation : in field, L 1 : double border of dots.

[Pl. XXII 11.]

One specimen. Much worn, but seemingly fair work : diameter, 17 mm.

28. *Obv.*—As 26 (apparently).

Rev.—Sarapis seated to front on high-backed throne, wearing modius and himation, r. hand raised, l. resting on sceptre : at his feet, Kerberos seated : in field, [L] H : border of dots.

One specimen. Worn and pierced, but apparently of fair work ; diameter, 17 mm.

29. *Obv.*—As 26 (l).

Rev.—Youthful Horus advancing r., head turned to front, holding up in each hand a serpent : border of dots.

One specimen. Much worn ; diameter, 17 mm.

30. *Obv.*—Bust of Nilus r. : in front, cornucopiae : border of dots.

Rev.—Defaced.

One specimen. Fair work ; diameter, 18 mm.

31. *Obv.*—Bust of Sarapis r., wearing modius and himation : border of dots.

Rev.—Bust of Hermanubis l., wearing modius with petal in front : to l., palm upright : border of dots. [Pl. XXII. 12.]

Four specimens. Fair work, on thin flans ; diameter, 24–25 mm.

32. *Obv.*—As last, but type l.

Rev.—As last, but type r.

One specimen. Work inferior to last ; diameter, 20 mm.

33. *Obv.*—Bust of Sarapis r., wearing taenia, modius, and himation : to l., indeterminate object : border of dots.

Rev.—Apparently blank.

One specimen. Poor work, on thick flan ; diameter, 20 mm.

34. *Obv.*—Reaper r., wearing high cap with tassel and short chiton, cutting corn with a sickle : to l., bird perched on sheaf : border of dots.

Rev.—Ploughman l., wearing conical cap and short chiton, driving two oxen, guiding plough with r. hand and raising goad in l. : border of dots.

One specimen. Fair work ; diameter, 18 mm.

35. *Obv.*—Pegasos galloping l. : below, CЄ : thick line border.

Rev.—Androsphinx standing l., with r. fore-paw on wheel : thick line border. [Pl. XXII. 13.]

One specimen. Fair work, on thick round flan; diameter, 25 mm.

36. *Obv.*—Figure (Harpokrates ?) riding r. on elephant, with r. hand raised; border of dots.

Rev.—Hermanubis standing l., with indeterminate object in r. hand, caduceus in l.; at his feet, dog l., looking back; border of dots.

[Pl. XXII. 14.]

One specimen. Fairly good work; diameter, 20 mm.

37. *Obv.*—Indeterminate object.

Rev.— $\frac{\Delta O}{\Delta I}$ in wreath.

One specimen. Diameter, 26 mm.

Of the foregoing types, a few have been described by Signor Dattari, in his *Numi Augustorum Alexandrini*: No. 7 bears the same types as his No. 6539; No. 15 as No. 6540; No. 20 as No. 6456; No. 21 possibly as No. 6471; and No. 34 as No. 6546.

The majority of these pieces may be ranged in two groups, the first with types relating to Athene on the obverse, the second with types of Nilus. There is a general distinction of style between the groups; and for this and for other reasons which will appear later, it will be convenient to discuss them separately in the first instance, and consider those examples which do not bear obverse types of either class subsequently.

The first group, comprising Nos. 1 to 13, includes nearly all those most commonly found at Behnesa. As regards style, the general average in this group is distinctly low, and the smaller examples are as a rule the worst in execution; in some instances they can only be

described as barbarous. It is true that the poor preservation of many of the specimens would make it difficult to distinguish the finer lines of the work, if any had ever existed; but from comparison of those in the best state, it would appear that the engraver of the dies did little more than cut out a rough figure with hardly any detail. The obverse types include the helmeted bust of Athene, sometimes with a spear or bipennis; Athene attacking a serpent; Athene standing holding Nike; a similar figure in a portico; and Athene seated. All these, except the bust with bipennis and the figure of Athene attacking a serpent, may be paralleled on the imperial coins of Alexandria; but there is no close resemblance to any particular Alexandrian issues, nor would it be possible to say more than that the unskilful engraver may have had an Alexandrian type in his mind, or even before him, which he was trying to reproduce. The usual reverse type of this group—a figure of Nike with wreath and palm—shows more affinity to a familiar Alexandrian type, though the execution is as rough as on the obverse; but this is differentiated from the imperial coinage by the addition, on most of the larger specimens, of the letters ΟΞ placed vertically, which appear in various stages of degradation; occasionally they are fairly clear, but more commonly they have become a large pellet with a zigzag line descending from it. The flans on which these pieces are struck are rough; the larger ones are thick and lumpy, especially in Nos. 1, 6, and 12, the smaller thin and of irregular shape.

In my discussion of these pieces in "Fayûm Towns," I argued that this group was probably struck locally at Oxyrhynchus, basing this conclusion on the grounds of the appearance, on the reverse, of the first two letters of

the name of the town, and, on the obverse, of Athene, the Graeco-Egyptian equivalent of the local deity Thoeiris.¹ This appears to be supported by the further evidence which has been obtained from subsequent finds; out of 270 leaden pieces from Behnesa which I have examined, 184 belong to this group, and 56 of the remainder to two other types, while the other 30 represent 22 different types. I am not aware that any examples of the types of this group have come from other sites. Signor Dattari, as already noted, has a specimen of No. 7, and there are specimens of Nos. 1 and 4 in the Alexandria Museum; but in none of these cases is there any record as to *provenance*. Professor Petrie also showed me a specimen of No. 1 bought at Ahnas; but he agreed that this might have been found at Behnesa and brought down. There appears, therefore, to be strong reason in favour of the opinion that this group represents the local issues of Oxyrhynchus.

The second group comprises Nos. 19 to 30, most of which are represented by one example only. These pieces are greatly superior to those of the first group in style; the flans are usually round and well-shaped, and in many instances the execution is quite equal to that of the imperial Alexandrian coinage. The types are rather interesting in their relation to that coinage. Many of them have close parallels on the Alexandrian coins, but the treatment of the design is often varied in some small particular; for example, the usual obverse type of Nilus reclining is very similar to the common representation of him on Alexandrian issues, except that on the leaden pieces his figure is shortened to a three-quarter length

¹ In my former article I described, as obverse and reverse respectively, the sides of these pieces which I now treat in the opposite sense.

one, instead of being shown in full; but the introduction on No. 26 of a small mummiform Osiris on the right hand of Nilus is a distinct variation not found in any Alexandrian type, the nearest analogy to it being the small genius issuing from a cornucopiæ held by Nilus, which sometimes occurs;² and on the reverse of the same piece the small figure of Harpokrates is a novel addition to the type of two facing Canopi. The reaper of the reverse of No. 24 is evidently a reproduction of the reverse types of some large bronze coins of the fifth year of Antoninus Pius,³ but does not agree exactly with any of the four varieties published. The impression which I have formed from a comparison of this group with the imperial coinage is that the engraver of the dies from which the leaden pieces were struck intentionally altered the treatment of details, while following the general lines of the Alexandrian types; the differences are certainly not due to want of skill on the part of the workmen. Another point in which the group is distinguished from the first is that in most cases the specimens belonging to it show a date on the reverse—possibly this may be a general rule, as the only examples on which no date can be deciphered are much worn. None of the other types here described are dated; and the connection between the Nilus obverse and the dated reverse thus shown is supported by the evidence of other collections. In Signor Dattari's catalogue, out of 30 leaden pieces bearing dates, 24 have representations of Nilus or of his spouse Euthenia; in the account of the leaden

² The one example of No. 26 is fortunately in good preservation, and there is no doubt as to the identification of the figure of Osiris; the details on the obverses of Nos. 27, 28, and 29 are rather obscure.

³ Dattari, 2986-2989.

pieces of the Bibliothèque Nationale by MM. Rostovtsew and Prou,⁴ there are five dated examples, all with Nilus types; and in the Museo Numismatico Lavy⁵ there are described six dated specimens, likewise all with Nilus types, out of a total of 61 examples.

The fact that the pieces belonging to this group only occur sporadically at Behnesa—not more than two examples of any of the types included in it having been found—would suggest that they were not locally struck. The Nilus type is, of course, one which might occur anywhere in Egypt, and it is used, in a style very similar to that of the specimens now under discussion, on leaden pieces which bear the name of Memphis. Of the half-dozen leaden pieces from the excavations in the Fayûm described in my previous article,⁶ four have Nilus types. It would appear that this type was the one most favoured generally in the striking of leaden issues in Egypt, as, out of 137 examples catalogued by Signor Dattari, 68 bear figures of Nilus. In the absence of any evidence that examples of this group have been found with special frequency at any particular site, it would seem unsafe to formulate any conclusions as to where they were struck; but, looking to the superiority of the execution and the touch of official style given by the use of a date, I am inclined to ascribe them to Alexandria.

Of the specimens which cannot be classified in one or other of the foregoing groups by their obverse types, those which come under Nos. 14 to 18 have a point in common with several of the first group in their reverse type of Nike. In style, however, No. 14 is the only

⁴ *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, pp. 431 ff.

⁵ Torino, 1839.

⁶ Pages 72, 73.

variety which can be ranked with those regarded above as Oxyrhynchite: it is executed in the same rough and sometimes barbarous fashion, and struck on irregular flans. It is also of common occurrence, and is very probably to be taken as a local issue. No. 15 is not uncommon, but shows much better workmanship in almost all the examples found, approximating in this respect to the second group; and the same may be said of No. 16 and No. 17. The latter has another point of resemblance to the second group in the shape of the flans. All these three are distinctly superior to any in the first group, and should apparently be classified as not Oxyrhynchite. The one example of No. 18 is too worn for any definite judgment to be formed as to its style. Nos. 31 and 32 are very distinct in appearance from any of the other varieties found; the execution is fairly good, much better than in the first group, while it is broader than in the second, where the work rather tends to detail; the flans are larger than those of the latter group, but, while comparatively thin, are well-shaped. Nos. 34 and 36 are in every respect of workmanship closely similar to the second group; and the types of No. 34 are, like the reverse type of No. 24, borrowed from the large bronze coins of the fifth year of Antoninus Pius, with minor variations. No. 35 is of distinct style, and, like Nos. 31 and 32, must be placed in a separate class; the work is broad and vigorous, and the flan, though thick, is well-rounded. The condition of the one example of No. 33 does not allow of its classification; and No. 37 affords no points of comparison with the other varieties.

To revert once more to the conclusions of my earlier article on these leaden pieces in "Fayûm Towns," I there assigned them to the second and third centuries A.D. on

grounds of style. The additional evidence which has now been obtained tends to support this dating in general, but makes it possible to fix the limits more closely. The dates which occur on the Nilus group are presumably regnal years; but as the year alone is given without any indication as to the name of the Emperor, they are for the most part of no value as guides for the present purpose, being low dates, which might refer to any one of many reigns. One example, however—No. 19—bears a date which can only belong either to Commodus or Caracalla, as no other Roman Emperor after Augustus entered on a twenty-fifth year according to the Alexandrian system of dating. The types also point to the same period. As noted above, Nos. 24 and 34 show groups which are closely related to those on bronze coins of the fifth year of Antoninus Pius, and must either have been borrowed from the latter or derived from the same source. The treatment of the designs on the bronze coins of this series distinctly suggests that the die-engravers of the Alexandrian mint worked out their types freely in preference to giving exact copies of extant statues or paintings, and, if this be granted, the types of the leaden pieces must have been borrowed from the imperial coinage. This fixes the upper limit of date for these examples; and the lower limit is probably not very much later, as the wear of the second-century bronze coinage in Egypt was so great that it would have been difficult for a copyist to find a coin many years old on which the design was sufficiently clear to be followed.⁷ Internal evidence would thus point to

⁷ The majority of second-century bronze coins found at Behnesa are worn almost smooth, showing only the faintest traces of the types; and, out of 104 sufficiently well preserved to be described, only 8 were in anything like good condition. The average preservation of the Ptolemaic and first-century bronze from the same site is much better.

the latter part of the second century and the early years of the third as the period of issue of these leaden pieces, at any rate of the Nilus group. Unfortunately, no external evidence can be obtained from the situations in which they were found: for, as Dr. Grenfell explained to me, and I satisfied myself at a visit to the site, the stratification of the rubbish-mounds of Behnesa is so extraordinary that objects of a later date may be found below those of an earlier; and, after all, dust-heaps are not exactly places where an orderly arrangement is likely to be preserved.

In my previous article I argued that these pieces represented a local token-currency for low values, on the grounds that they were shown by the names upon them to have been struck for certain localities, that they had in some cases a stated denomination, and that they follow for the most part recognized coin-types; and that further, in the period to which they appear to belong—the latter part of the second and the third centuries—hardly any coins of lower value than tetradrachms were issued by the imperial mint of Alexandria, though payments in obols and chalci frequently occur in documents of the time, and something must have been used for these denominations, as there is no hint or trace of payment in kind. All the further evidence supports these conclusions. In addition to types bearing the names of Memphis, Oxyrhynchus, and the Arsinoite nome, there are now known pieces with the legends ΑΘΡ (Athribis),⁸ ΝΥΝΦΟΝ,⁹ and ΟΕ (perhaps Sethroite or Sebennyte nome).¹⁰ With the examples previously specified, which are marked ΟΒΟΛΟΙ Β and

⁸ Dattari, No. 6415.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 6422.

¹⁰ No. 35 above.

ΤΡΙΩΒΟ, may be classified No. 37 of this collection, the device on which should certainly be read ΔΙΟΒ(ΟΛΟΝ). The relationship to the coin-types has already been set forth.

The strongest evidence as to their use, however, may be drawn from a classification of the finds at Behnesa; and this also throws some light on their date. I have examined the coins from the excavations of five seasons; and those of the Alexandrian series which are in sufficiently good condition for the reign in which they were struck to be identified are shown in the following table:—

	Billon tetradrachms.	Bronze.
Augustus	—	13
Tiberius	1	3
Caligula	—	2
Claudius	—	23
Nero	8	3
Galba	—	1
Otho	1	—
Vitellius	1	—
Vespasian	—	24
Domitian	—	11
Trajan	1	18
Hadrian	2	41
Antoninus Pius	3	32
Aurelius and Verus	1	11
Commodus	1	2
Caracalla	—	1
Severus Alexander	5	3
Gordian III	1	—
Philip	8	—
Treb. Gallus	3	—
Gallienus	10	1
Claudius Gothicus	9	—
Aurelian	51	—
Tacitus	2	—
Probus	62	—
Carus	5	—
Carinus and Numerian	20	—
Diocletian and Maximian	131	—

It will be observed that this list shows very few coins of the reigns between Marcus Aurelius and Gallienus. The fact is even more striking if the coins are grouped in periods of about forty years, as follows :—

	Total coins.
Augustus	13
Tiberius—Claudius	29
Nero—Domitian	49
Nerva—Hadrian	62
Antoninus—Aurelius	47
Commodus—Elagabalus	4
Alexander—Valerian	20
Gallienus—Diocletian	291

It must be remembered that these coins have all been found singly in the rubbish-heaps of the ancient town, and represent, not hoards of any particular period, but the casual losses of daily life. Unless, therefore, the inhabitants of Oxyrhynchus ceased to drop their money in the streets about 180 A.D., and resumed the habit with greater frequency about 260 A.D.—which seems on the face of it unlikely—some other explanation of the absence of coins of the intervening period must be sought; and it is most reasonable to suppose that the leaden pieces here described, which internal evidence would date to about this time, were in circulation as tokens in Oxyrhynchus, and took the place in daily life, as they do in the rubbish-mounds, of the bronze coinage of earlier years.

This would agree with the history of the issues from the Alexandrian mint. Comparatively few bronze coins were struck there in the reign of Commodus, and fewer still in those of his successors down to Caracalla; while afterwards, except for some very rare pieces of Elagabalus, Julia Maesa, and Severus Alexander, the only issues of

bronze were in the tenth year of Severus Alexander, the fifth and sixth of Philip, and the twelfth of Gallienus. These latter issues were apparently of a commemorative character, and intended as medals rather than coins; and it may be noted in connection with this that the examples of these issues found at Behnesa show very little sign of wear, herein contrasting markedly with the extremely rubbed condition in which nearly all the earlier bronze coins are found, and that an unusually large proportion of those specimens which have come under my observation from all sources are pierced. But while the only regular coinage from 180 to 260 consisted of billon tetradrachms, the papyri and ostraca, which are fairly plentiful for most of this period, show no change from earlier times in the use of obols and chalci in statements of accounts and payments: and it is necessary to discover what represented these obols and chalci. There is not the least evidence that payment in kind or by barter was brought into use; and I know of nothing which has been found in Egypt, other than these leaden pieces, which could take the place. It has been suggested¹¹ that the imperial coinage of Rome was imported; but Roman silver or bronze coins of before 260 A.D. hardly ever occur in Egypt. From Behnesa only three have come, two sestertii of Severus Alexander and one of Philip, which are probably chance importations, like sundry other coins found there—one bronze coin of Cos of the first century B.C., one Cypriote of Caracalla, and one colonial of Antioch of Philip.

The upper limit for the issue and use of these leaden tokens may be put with a reasonable probability at about

¹¹ Mommsen, *Archiv. für Papyrusforschung*, i. 273.

180 A.D. No doubt the bronze coins of the Alexandrian mint continued to be current for some time after this; but the numbers struck appear to have fallen off rapidly during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and his seventeenth year saw the last appearance of the regular coinage of large bronze. Signor Dattari has advanced good grounds for supposing that a reform of the monetary system was contemplated at this time in Egypt;¹² and, as a marked debasement of the billon tetradrachms certainly took place, which would disturb the old relations with bronze, it may well have been due to this that the issue of leaden tokens was found convenient.

The lower limit appears to fall in the reign of Gallienus, in view of the facts set forth above as to the finds of coins at Behnesa. And this again may be connected with a change in the character of the Alexandrian billon issues. After the death of Commodus, the tetradrachms of Alexandria varied little in size, weight, or fineness till towards the end of the reign of Gallienus; but in the thirty years which followed till the abolition of the local Egyptian coinage under Diocletian, their diameter decreased by a fifth, and their weight by nearly a half, while the percentage of silver in them, which had been about ten, was reduced to about two. Unfortunately, there are hardly any records on papyri or ostraca of this period, and so we have no means of ascertaining how business adjusted itself to these circumstances. But, if we may argue from the fact that the coins of earlier periods usually found in the rubbish-heaps of Oxyrhynchus are those of the lower values—bronze till about 180 A.D., and afterwards, on the theory

¹² *Riv. Ital. di Num.*, xiv. (1901), pp. 263 ff.

set forth above, leaden tokens—it may be concluded that nothing of lower value than the debased tetradrachms was in circulation. It is true that Roman Imperial bronze coins are rather more frequent than before—two of Gallienus, two of Aurelian, six of Probus, and two of Numerian, have been found—but these are insignificant when compared with the great number of tetradrachms.

In the foregoing paragraphs I have left out of consideration the possibility of these leaden tokens being intended as false coins. There were doubtless many spurious pieces in circulation in Egypt. M. Dutilh has collected a number of instances of plated coins of the Ptolemaic period found at Alexandria.¹³ In the Museum of Alexandria there are some leaden reproductions of coins, doubtless intended for fraudulent purposes—one copy of a hemidrachm of Sicyon, two of Rhodian drachms, and ten of small Ptolemaic copper; and the Lavy catalogue includes Egyptian forgeries in lead of coins of Epirus, Ithaca, Melos, Heracleia in Bithynia, Hidrieus, Ephesus, Rhodes, and Canatha in the Decapolis.¹⁴ But the examples from Behnesa and elsewhere which have been described are obviously not attempts to counterfeit any known coinage, and could hardly have deceived even the most ignorant.

There still remains to be discussed the question how far the use of these leaden tokens extended through Egypt; and this can hardly be answered till other Roman sites have been excavated with the same care as that of Oxyrhynchus. The number of these pieces

¹³ *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Numism.*, v. (1902), p. 93.

¹⁴ *Museo Numismatico Lavy*, Nos. 4604-4615.

which come into the market is considerable, but no reliable information can be obtained from the dealers as to where they were found. The sites of Euhemeria, Theadelphia, and Philoteris in the Fayûm, each yielded examples; and I learn from Mr. J. E. Quibell that he got a specimen of the Memphite token in the ruins of the Graeco-Roman Serapeum at Saqqara. I have not heard of any similar discoveries in other excavations: and unfortunately the tokens themselves give little indication of where they were struck. Names of towns are rare (there are only the six which have already been quoted), and the types are generally such as might be adopted almost anywhere in Egypt: Nilus, Sarapis, and Isis are the most usual, and are quite indistinctive. In a few instances a local attribution may be guessed. There is a fairly common token with the head of Zeus Ammon to right on the obverse, and on the reverse a baboon squatting to right with a disk on its head, forepaws resting on hind-legs, and an altar in front, of which MM. Rostovtsew and Prou note six examples in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, three at Athens, three at Turin, four in the collection of M. Vital at Constantinople, and several in the Trau Collection at Vienna;¹⁵ there are also fourteen specimens in the Alexandria Museum. This type might be ascribed with some probability to Hermopolis Magna; and the frequency with which it occurs in collections, some formed many years ago, suggests that the examples have been found at a site which has been extensively plundered for a long period—a condition which is satisfied in the case of the mounds of Ashmunên, the modern representative of

¹⁵ *Revue Numismatique*, 1899, p. 433.

Hermopolis. Another token, of which there are eight specimens in the Alexandria Museum, bears on the obverse a head of Zeus to right and on the reverse a bust of Athene to right: the Lavy catalogue has five examples of this,¹⁶ and it appears to be of the same type as two pieces in MM. Rostovtsew and Prou's description of the collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹⁷ This type has not occurred at Behnesa, and may possibly belong to the other great centre of worship of the Egyptian equivalent of Athene—Sais, which, like Hermopolis, has been extensively plundered for many years. These conjectures as to local attributions, however, are not of definite value in the absence of information as to find-spots. Signor Dattari has also collected a number of types which recur on the coins of the nomes;¹⁸ and it is worthy of notice that, in several instances, the obverse and reverse bear types of different nomes—thus Arsinoite and Heliopolite, Bubastite and Herakleopolite, Bubastite and Panopolite, and Hermopolite and Herakleopolite types are conjoined—which may point to some understanding between the authorities of the nomes or towns issuing the tokens. His other types are of the Menelaite and Sethroite nomes, and Pelusium. These instances seem to show that the use of such tokens was spread over the Delta and Middle Egypt, but so far no specimens have been found which can be ascribed to any town south of Panopolis.

In conclusion, I have to thank the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund for the opportunity of studying

¹⁶ *Museo Numismatico Lavy*, Nos. 4554–4558.

¹⁷ *Rev. Num.*, t. 8, p. 434, Nos. 660 ff.

¹⁸ *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, Nos. 6426–6435.

and publishing the Behnesa tokens; Signor Dattari, for allowing me freely to inspect his unrivalled collection in Cairo; and Signor Breccia, for granting me special facilities for examining the leaden pieces in the Alexandria Museum.

J. G. MILNE.

Postscript.—The foregoing article was in the printer's hands before the second volume of Dr. Otto's *Prieste und Tempel im Hellenistischen Aegypten* appeared. He suggests on p. 131, note 4, that the Egyptian leaden pieces were σύμβολα in the sense of tickets entitling the holder to an allowance in kind. If this were the case, however, I should expect to find examples of these tickets of Ptolemaic and early Roman times, since the evidence for the allowances goes back to the second century B.C.; but I know of no leaden pieces from Egypt, except direct copies of Ptolemaic bronze coins, which could reasonably be dated before the reign of Antoninus Pius. Nor does the general character of the pieces suggest such a purpose as that ascribed to them by Dr. Otto.

XV.

A FIND OF ENGLISH SILVER COINS IN HAMPSHIRE.

THE silver coins enumerated in the subjoined list formed part, or about half, as far as could be ascertained, of a hoard of groats, half-groats, &c., which appears to have been found somewhere on the banks of Southampton Water in 1905. I am indebted to Mr. A. H. Baldwin for the opportunity of inspecting and describing the portion of the find which recently came into his hands, and for the few particulars that he was able to ascertain in connection with it.

A man engaged upon the making of a new road in the vicinity of an old ferry found a small earthenware pot containing the coins. Being unable to extract them, he broke a portion of the pot, leaving it as shown by the sketch given below. He appears to have given away about half the find before disposing of the remainder, which I have examined; but before I saw the coins they had passed through several hands. The pot was of rough, plain red ware, and measured 4 inches in height with a circumference of $11\frac{3}{4}$ inches in the middle; the opening at the top had a diameter of $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the diameter at the bottom was $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. It is said that the groats were all in dozens, each of which was contained in a little bag of silver gauze. If

this is correct, I would suggest that the so-called bags had originally been pieces of some silver or silver-gilt tissue, of which the silk portions had decayed away.



Perhaps the money was stolen, and an ecclesiastical vestment, forming part of the robbery, was cut up to wrap it in.

The coins range from the reign of Edward I to that of Henry VI, but of the former reign there is only a single penny, and this, together with a sterling of Robert de Bethune, Count of Flanders, 1305 to 1322, are the only pieces earlier than the 1351 issue of groats of Edward III. The latest coins are three groats of the "pine-cone" coinage of Henry VI, which were probably struck about 1435, and fix approximately the date when the hoard was concealed. The chief interest in the find is the incidental information which it affords of the coins which formed the currency of the country towards the middle of the reign of Henry VI. It will be noticed from the list that a considerable number of groats and half-groats of Edward III were still in circulation, but all in very poor condition and much chipped. One groat only was found of Richard II, but curiously this is a very rare variety; the name is clipped off, but its identity is unmistakable.¹ There are two groats of

¹ Another groat of Richard II from the same find has subsequently turned up. It is of the ordinary early type, and is in poor condition.

Henry IV, one of which is unusually fine and of practically full weight (59 grains); but for slight injury from corrosion to prominent points of the surface, it would be an almost perfect specimen, and is just as struck. It has Roman N's in "London," and is one of the very few coins in the find of any special interest. The other groat of Henry IV has English N's in "London;" it is very poor and much clipped. A groat, probably of the beginning of the reign of Henry V, has the obverse from a die which I, in common with Mr. L. A. Lawrence, attribute to Henry IV. Of Henry V there are seven "mullet" marked groats of London, and three "annulet" groats of Calais, and there is also one Calais half-groat; all are in fair condition. Of Henry VI there are fifty-four "annulet" groats and seven half-groats of Calais, and four groats of London; two groats and three half-groats (of Calais) of the "annulet-rossette" issue; nine Calais groats and one half-groat and one London groat of the "rossette-masle" coinage; and three groats of the "pine-cone" coinage—two of Calais and one of London. The only unusual coin of Henry VI is the London groat of the "rossette-masle" coinage, which is rather rare. Otherwise the coins of his reign are all of the most usual varieties. As the portion of the find which I have not seen was distributed amongst many persons, it is probable that the coins in best condition were picked out. This makes it little likely that many, if any, earlier than those of Henry VI were amongst them, as, with the solitary exception of the one groat of Henry IV, almost all the coins earlier than those of Henry VI which I have examined were in more or less poor condition.

LIST OF COINS FROM FIND IN HAMPSHIRE, 1905.

EDWARD I PENNY.

Hawkins, Class 2, of Newcastle 1

NOVÆASTRI.

ROBERT DE BETHUNE, COUNT OF FLANDERS 1305-22. STERLING.

Obv.—R ROMBS FLANDRIÆ.

Rev.—MONETA KLOTEN 1

EDWARD III.

Groats, 1351-60.

With open C's and barred Z's in "London" 8

With closed C and barred Z's in "London" 1

With unbarred II's and closed C's 8

With unbarred II's and closed C's and mint-mark
crown both sides 1

All of London.

Groats, 1360-69, omitting French title.

Of London 1

Of Calais 1

All the foregoing groats are in very poor condition
and more or less clipped.

Half-groats, 1351-60.

With closed C's and barred Z's 5

With closed C's and unbarred II's 1

Penny—York, 1360-69 1

All the latter pieces are very poor.

RICHARD II.

Groat, reading DRL, as *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, Vol. IV, Pl. XIX, No. 12 1

Name illegible, owing to clipping, but otherwise in fair condition.

HENRY IV.

Groat. As *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, Vol. V, p. 300; and Plate V, No. 3 same volume. Slipped trefoil on breast and after POSVI; annulet to l. and pellet over crown. Roman K's in "London." Wt. 59 grs. 1

In fine condition and unclipped.

Groat. As *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, Vol. V, Plate XIII, No. 6. *Obv.* as last coin, but on *Rev.* English R in "London" 1

In very poor condition and much clipped.

Groat. As *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, Vol. V, p. 276; and Plate V, No. 11 same volume.

Obv.—M.M. cross pattée with sunk circle.

Rev.—M.M. plain cross 1

This coin is poor, and is probably an early groat of Henry V, with an obverse die of Henry IV of latest type.

HENRY V.

Groat. M.M. plain cross with sunk circle. Mullet in centre of breast on point of cusp of the tressure; reads FR π DL.

Rev.—Quatrefoil after POSVI; reads π DIVTOR
M π IVM. *Num. Chron.*, Series IV, Vol. VI, p. 201.

In poor state.

Groats. M.M. plain cross (no piercing or sinking visible); mullet on l. breast, reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta$.

Rev.—Quatrefoil after POSVI. *Num. Chron.*,
Series IV. Vol. VI. Pl. XV. No. 10 . . . 6

Groat. M.M. plain cross with sunk circle; mullet on l. breast, reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda$.

Rev.—Quatrefoil after POSVI. *Num. Chron.*,
Series IV. Vol. VI. p. 205, 2 . . . 1

Some fair, none very fine.

ANNULET COINAGE.

Groats of Calais. M.M. plain cross pierced, of type I.; usual type, reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta$ 3

In good condition.

Half-groat of Calais. M.M. pierced cross, type I.: eleven arcs to the tressure 1

HENRY VI ANNULET COINAGE.

Groats of Calais. M.M. pierced cross, type II. (with rounded angles), earliest variety, reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta$ 23

All in fair or fine condition.

Half-groats of Calais, earliest variety. M.M. cross pierced, type II. Thin bust, like Henry V; reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda \S \text{FR}$ 4

Groats of London, second variety. All of the usual type, with M.M. pierced cross (type II.), and reading $\pi\Omega\epsilon\lambda$ and QIVITIS LORDOR 4

Groats of Calais. Similar to those of London, but with the usual annulets on the obverse 31

All in fair to very fine condition.

Half-groats of Calais, of second variety; reading $\pi R \epsilon L$	
§ F. M.M. pierced cross	1
Ditto. M.M. plain cross not pierced; one with M.M.	
on both sides	2

ANNULET-ROSETTE ISSUE.

Groats of Calais.

Obv. of latest annulet type.

Rev.—M.M. plain cross; rosette after POSVI
and $\alpha \pi \lambda \iota \sigma \iota \theta$ 2

Half-groat of Calais, similar to groats 1

ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE.

Groats of Calais, of first type.

Obv.—M.M. cross pierced rosettes between wards;
mascle after $R \epsilon X$ (in one case before
 $R \epsilon X$).

Rev.—M.M. plain cross rosette after POSVI
and $\alpha \pi \lambda \iota \sigma \iota \theta$; mascle between VIL
and $L \pi$ 6

Half-groats of first type, similar to groats 2

Groats of second type.

Obv.—M.M. cross fleury; rosettes and mascle as
before.

Rev.—As last.

Of London 1

Of Calais 3

Half-groats of second type. M.M. cross fleury, and
similar to groats. Of Calais 2

All the pieces of this coinage are fine or very
fine.

PINE-CONE-MASCLE COINAGE.

Calais Groats.

Obv.—M.M. cross fleury; mascle after REX;
pine-cone between other words.

Rev.—M.M. plain cross; pine-cone after POSVI
and QVILISIE; mascle between VIL
and LP. 2

London Groat.

Obv.—As last.

Rev.—Pine-cone after POSVI and LORDOR;
mascle before LOR 1

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

XVI.

A FIND OF COINS AT BRIDGNORTH.

On the 24th of January, 1908, a labourer named Henry Beddoes was digging up some soil at the back of No. 73, High Street, Bridgnorth, for Mr. T. Lay, builder and contractor, who was converting the place into a motor garage. It was previously known as the Borough Stores. At from seven to eight feet below the surface he came upon a quantity of coins, which, at the inquest, he said were "all in a heap in the loose earth. They were not wrapped in anything. The coins produced were those I found. Mr. Lay came on the scene as I was digging them up. I showed him where I found them. He picked some up too. The ground where I found the coins had not been disturbed for a great number of years. I handed over the coins to the coroner at his request, and others who had coins handed them over. As far as I know, all the coins found have been handed over." 144 silver coins were in this way handed over to the police, and the report in the *Bridgnorth Journal* says, "They were covered with dirt, and many of them sticking together, but when they had been separated and roughly cleaned, the peculiar substance with which they were encrusted, not of an altogether pleasant odour, possessed a tenacity that stontly resisted strenuous efforts made to remove it." These strenuous efforts have left

considerable scratches on several of the coins. They are all in a very bad state of preservation. The following list gives all the particulars which can be made out:—

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|----------------|---|
| 1 | Mary : | Groat, | <i>Veritas</i> , &c. |
| 1 | Philip and Mary : | Shilling. | |
| 1 | Elizabeth : | Shilling, | M.M. martlet. |
| 3 | " | " | " cross crosslet. |
| 1 | " | " | " invisible, but reading "Elizabeth," and therefore belonging to the first three years of the reign. |
| 1 | " | " | " wool-pack. |
| 1 | " | " | " 2. |
| 1 | " | " | " invisible, but reading "Elizabeth," and therefore later than the first three years. |
| 1 | " | " | " illegible. |
| 24 | " | Sixpences, | dates 1561 ; (1561-5) M.M. pheon ;
1567 ; 1571 ; 1575 ; (1577-81) M.M. cross ;
1578 (?) ; 1581 (?) ; 1582 ; 1596 ; 1601 ;
1602 ; and 12 illegible. |
| 3 | James VI of Scotland : | Thistle Marks. | |
| 1 | " | " | " Half-mark, 1602. |
| 3 | James I King of England : | Shillings, | <i>Ezurgat</i> , &c., M.M.
on two is lis, on
the third is in-
visible. |
| 5 | " | " | " <i>Quae Deus</i> , &c.,
M.M. on one lis,
on another rose,
on the other
three invisible. |
| 1 | " | " | " illegible. |
| 1 | " | " | " a silver or base-metal piece
of the size of a gold
double-crown, and hav-
ing its legend, <i>Henricus
rosae regna Jacob</i> ; but |

only a few letters of this legend are visible, and nothing at all of the type of either obverse or reverse.

2	James I King of England :	Sixpences,	<i>Exurgat</i> , &c.
2	"	"	"
			<i>Quae Deus</i> , &c., onedated 1604, one with M.M. rose (1605).
1	"	"	"
1	"	"	"
			illegible.
1	"	"	"
			Irish.
6	Charles I :	Half-crowns,	with oval garnished shield, without CR. One has M.M. (P), another (R), on four the M.M. is invisible.
1	"	"	struck at Worcester, M.M. pears (Hks. 494).
3	"	Shillings,	oval shield, CR at sides ; M.M. on one portcullis, on the other two, invisible.
18	"	"	square shield, M.M. on two ton, on three prostrate anchor, on four triangle within circle, on three triangle, on one star, on one (P), on four invisible.
4	"	Sixpences,	oval shield, M.M. on two ton, on two invisible.
1	"	"	square shield, M.M. triangle.
1	"	half-groat,	<i>Justitia</i> , &c.
55	quite illegible coins.		
144	total.		

Not only are all these coins in very bad preservation through having lain so long in the earth without the protection of any receptacle, but also many of them, including all the half-crowns, have been very much clipped. The latest in date are those with the

mint-marks (P) and (R), and the Worcester half-crown. The (P) and (R) mint-marks are of 1643 and 1644 or possibly 1645. The Worcester half-crown was struck during the Civil War, and cannot be later than July, 1646, in which month the city was surrendered to the Parliament; probably it is a year or two earlier than this. The horse on the obverse of this coin stands out in very good relief, showing that the coin had hardly been in circulation at all, but it has suffered much from clipping, which proves that the clipping was done during the time of the Civil War. As to the piece with the legend "Henricus," &c., its condition is such that it is impossible to say whether it is an imitation of a ten-shilling piece and intended to be gilt and pass as such, or whether it is merely a counter. This and the Worcester coin are the only interesting pieces in the find.

Worcester and Bridgnorth are only about thirty miles apart, and as both were held for the King from 1642 to 1646, there would be a good deal of intercourse between them, and Bridgnorth would be a likely place for a Worcester coin to be brought to. In March, 1646, the Parliamentary forces took the town of Bridgnorth by storm, but the Royalists held out in the Castle for three weeks longer, and succeeded on Easter Tuesday in setting the town on fire and burning down nearly the whole of it. The damage done was sworn at the Shropshire Quarter Sessions of January, 1660-1, to amount to £60,000. People would be very likely to bury money for security during those three weeks, and the circumstances of this find, and the dates of the latest coins in it, point to the probability that this hoard was actually deposited at that time, and is therefore a relic of one of the most exciting and interesting periods of Bridgnorth history.

The composition of the find is very like that of the Oswestry find of 1904 (*Num. Chron.*, Series IV. Vol. V. pp. 100 f.), and corroborates the conclusion drawn from that and other finds of the same period, that half the silver currency of the country at the end of the reign of Charles I was composed of coins of the reign of Elizabeth, or earlier.

The inquest was held on Monday, February 24, when the coins were found to be treasure trove. They were accordingly sent to the Treasury, and thence to the British Museum for examination.

R. L. L. KENYON.

XVII.

NICHOLAS HILLIARD, "EMBOSSER OF MEDALS OF GOLD."

(See Plates XXIII.-XXVI.)

IN putting before this Society a matter of conjecture, I feel that I am doing a somewhat rash thing, and I ask the indulgence of the Fellows.

It has always appeared to me a subject for regret that so little is known about the achievements of Nicholas Hilliard, apart from his work as a miniature-painter, and I have tried, by the help of such few examples of the goldsmith's art as we believe to be his, to trace his career as an "embosser of medals of gold."

In March last I read, before the British Numismatic Society, a paper on the medallic portraiture of our Tudor monarchs (see *Brit. Num. Journ.*, vol. iv. pp. 79 f.). I then briefly called attention to the possibility that Nicholas Hilliard, as "Limner, Carver, and Jeweller" to Queen Elizabeth, should have been the person employed to execute, or at least design, some of the more important badges or "jewels" of that day, comparing the Armada Badge (*Medallic Illustrations of British History*, vol. i. p. 154, No. 129) with her Majesty's second Great Seal, which is known to be his work. [See Pl. XXIII. 2 and Pls. XXIV., XXV.]

May I be permitted here to follow at greater length

a clue which, if my reasoning be not fallacious, may dispel the clouds of anonymity which cling around some very beautiful pieces of goldsmith's work, both of the time of Elizabeth and of her successor James I?

Nicholas Hilliard was, according to Walpole,¹ the son of Richard Hilliard of Exeter, and of Laurence, daughter of John Wall, goldsmith, of London. Richard Hilliard was High Sheriff of Exeter in the year 1560—a fact stated upon a beautiful miniature-case, the property of Lord de L'Isle, which contained at one time the portrait of the father, executed by the son.

On a band of blue, or rather mauve, in gold letters of somewhat peculiar form, to which I shall have occasion to refer hereafter, are the words, "Ricardus Hilliard Quondam Vicecomes Civitatis Et Comitatus Exoniae 1560."

Sir Richard Holmes,² in describing the artist's antecedents, says, "It is probable that he was initiated in his early years in the mysteries of the goldsmith's craft by his grandfather;" but I have been unable to discover the exact date of Hilliard's first visit to London, or whether he was there apprenticed to John Wall.

That his talent for painting asserted itself while he was still very young is proved by the signed and dated miniature of himself—executed at the age of thirteen—of singular finish and delicacy. This little portrait, in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, is of immense interest in proving the date of the artist's birth, which is variously stated in biographies as having taken place in 1537 or in 1547.

¹ Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 171, Wornum's ed., 1888.

² "English Miniature Painters," *Burlington Magazine*, Jan., 1906, p. 229.

Upon a scarlet band surrounding this small picture we read the inscription: "Opera quaedam ipsius Nicholais Heliard in aetatis suae 13," whilst on the background, behind the head, we find the figures "1550," with the young painter's initials NH.

As the age of the child is obviously correctly stated, there can be no mistake in the date, unless it be an error in the "1550," but this is unlikely, as the inscription is absolutely legible, and does not appear to have been in any way restored. It is corroborated by another miniature, also at Montague House: Nicholas Hilliard is here seen, painted by himself in his manhood, and the portrait is inscribed, "Anō Dm̄ 1574 aetatis suae 37."

Mr. Graves in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sir Richard Holmes, Dr. George Williamson, Mr. O'Donoghue, and others have adopted the earlier date; whilst old books, such as Pilkington's *Dictionary of Painters*, and amongst modern authorities, Mr. Dudley Heath in his *Miniatures*, and Mr. L. Forrer in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, follow the reckoning of Walpole, or are perhaps guided by the evidence of another self-painted portrait of our artist, to be found in the collection of Mr. George Salting, and which is equally clearly inscribed, "Anō Dom̄ 1577 aetatis suae 30."

In support of this calculation we may draw attention to the fact that the companion picture in the same cabinet, portraying the artist's father, bears the inscription, "Aetatis suae 58. Anno Dom̄ 1577;" and we are struck by the youth of Richard Hilliard at the time of his son's birth, for only eighteen years intervene between 1519, when Richard must have been born, and the year 1537, when, if we are right in holding to the dates of the Duke of Buccleuch's miniature, as opposed to Mr.

Salting's, we must place the birth of Nicholas. Very early marriages took place in those days, but a father of eighteen years of age certainly excites remark! Mr. Lawrence Currie, who possesses a portrait of our artist by himself, catalogues it according to Walpole; but if Nicholas Hilliard was not born until 1547, several important miniatures must be incorrectly dated, or be wrongly attributed to him. We do not, therefore, suggest that he painted his own picture at the age of three, but we cannot fail to be struck by the skill which he displayed when only thirteen years of age—and that, at a time when the art of miniature-painting, or "limning" as it was then called, was in so early a stage of development that he as an Englishman was almost a pioneer therein. However, unless incidentally, when his paintings help us in tracing his possible work as a goldsmith or jeweller, I do not purpose to say more than I can help of his services to the Court in the capacity of "limner," but rather in the position which he himself described as that of goldsmith and carver to Queen Elizabeth.

In gold lettering, around the edge of the portrait of himself to which I referred as being at Minley Manor,² we read, "Nicus Hillyard Aurifaber Sculptor et coelebris illuminator serenissimae Reginae Elizabethae;" but I have been unable to discover any appointment of Hilliard as engraver to the Queen, though we have more than one proof that he held her warrant as "limner."

In making George Gower⁴ her Sergeant-painter in

² Collection of Mr. Lawrence Currie.

⁴ Preface to *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth*, by Freeman M. O'Donoghue, p. 11, where the author informs us that "Gower's tenure of office appears to have been very brief, and none of his works are known."

1584, Elizabeth grants to the said Gower the sole right "to make and cause to be made all and all manner of purtraicts and pictures of our person, phisiognomy and proportion of our body, in oil callers, upon bourdes or canvas, or to grave the same in copper, or to cutt the same in woode or otherwise"⁵—but exception is made in favour of Nicholas Hilliard, who was allowed to make little portraits of the Queen "in small compasse in lymnyge only and not otherwise."

We may suppose that the great strictness of these prohibitions arose from the fact that Elizabeth, who was extremely vain, disliked that unflattering pictures of herself should be painted by "many incompetent artists" who, it was said, in a proclamation⁶ drawn up in 1563, though never issued, "doe daily attempt to make in divers manners portraicture of her Majestie."

Although Elizabeth stated that she had "bene allwise of her own right disposition very unwillynge" to be painted, and only did so because the people, "both noble and mean," were so anxious to possess her portraits, it is noticeable that these are extremely numerous, whether in oil, in cameo, in metal, or in miniature, but they are in all cases obviously flattered, for the signs of age seldom appear, and her characteristic vanity is displayed in an account, written by Hilliard⁷ himself, of the first sitting accorded to him by the Queen.

The portraits by this artist often display great flatness and absence of light and shade—for he held a theory,

⁵ *Notes and Queries*, vol. vi. p. 238, 1852.

⁶ *Archæologia*, vol. ii. p. 169.

⁷ *A Treatise concerning the Arte of Limning*, by N. Hilliard. The original MS. is in the Edinburgh University, but I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Philip Norman for the loan of a transcript.

which he explained to Elizabeth, that in "limning, because it is viewed in the hand, and of necessity neare unto the eye," shadow was not desirable, and was only required when some displeasing defect should be concealed. He remarked that "if a very weel favored woman show in a place, wher is great shadowe, but because of her sweet favor consisting in the lyne or proportion, even that little which the light scarsly sheweth, greatly pleaseth, moving the Desier to see more. Ergo more would see more; but if she be not very fayre, together with her good proportion, as if to (*sic*) pale, too red or freckled, etc., then shadowe to show her in doeth her a favor, wherfore I conclude great shadowe is a good syne in picture after life of an ill cause and sheweth plainly that either the drawer had no good sight to discern his shadowes . . . or else the party drawne needeth or chose those shadowes for the causes above said." Clearly Elizabeth, on hearing these views, decided that her beauty required no concealment, for she thereupon "chose her place to sit in for that purpose in the open ally of a goodly garden, where no tree was neare nor any shadowe at all."

Hilliard asserts that the conversations concerning art, which he held with the Queen, "have greatly bettered my judgment, and weare fitter for some better clarke."

That this artist was constantly employed by Elizabeth to paint her "in small compasse" is proved by the large quantity of miniatures portraying her from youth to age; some fairly simple, some overloaded with ornamentation; many in enormous ruffs finished with the greatest delicacy.

At Montague House alone there are four portraits of

the Queen by Hilliard, and in the elaboration of the jewels in all his paintings the goldsmith is apparent; a real diamond is actually introduced into the cross surmounting the orb in one miniature, which is, I understand, at Welbeck,⁸ whilst the rubies positively protrude, being of a raised composition, in an example to be found in the Jones Bequest at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

From Hilliard's *Arte of Limning*, the treatise from which I have already quoted at some length, much may be learnt of the practice of miniature-painting at a time when real gold and silver were used in portraying armour or jewellery. Our author gives very careful directions as to the manner of reproducing the facets of a diamond or the roundness of a pearl; he explains the proper admixture of "masticot," or of ox-gall, required to make the gems stand out on a surface prepared with the greatest care, and the way to make liquid gold and silver.

If the proofs as to the authorship of the MS. were not already strong enough, it must further occur to any one that the treatise was that of the goldsmith as much as of the artist. The colours are all likened to certain precious stones, and we find such passages as the following: "The Ruby is the most perfect redd, and if he be without blemish and so great and thicke as he may beare the proportion of Diamond cut, he flickereth and affecteth the eye, especially by the candel light, like burning fyre." Or again, "For a great Diamond is not so faire for his bigness commonly as a little one. . . . The reason is that the Diamond-cutter for sparing the stone, if it be

⁸ "English Miniature Painters," by Sir Richard Holmes, *Burlington Magazine*, Jan., 1906, p. 233.

great, will not cut any away of his circumference to give his Diamond full shape, as he maye, and will doe, a little stone; neither doth nature give a great one (but rarely) any such good proportion or thickness to thiere breadth as have the little ones commonly, and this generall both in stone and pearle, the greater the worse proportioned." Of the diamond he says also, "I demand what stone is that which hath in it two distinct and perfect collors very apparent and hath in it no collar at all, yet if you look long into it, it hath collors radiant and strange, but the Diamond; and although whit and blacke be both thicke collors in painting . . . yet in the Diamond they are collors transparent and clear." In this speaks the artist, and one who painted entirely in opaque mediums on a carefully prepared ground, either of fine parchment, or a playing card, according to the fashion of the day.

The jeweller reappears in his admiration of the opal, "which in it hath a perfect fyer collar and all the collors in the Rainbow though placed not in that order, but in a changeable and retracted order, which changeth his reflections with every turn through a sertaine cloudie clear milkish whiteness."

It is fairly easy to date this interesting MS., as it was obviously written before the death of Elizabeth, ergo before 1603, and after 1598, if Vertue and Walpole, through whose hands it passed, were correct in deciding that it was the *Arte of Limning* of which Richard Haydock, publishing in the last-mentioned year, says that Hilliard "so much admired amongst all strangers . . . by me promiseth you a treatise of his owne Practice that way with all convenient speed."⁹

⁹ Vertue said the MS. might be written earlier, as he believed Haydock wrote his preface to his translation of *Lomazzo*, from which this

The only date to be found in the transcript lent to me is, "March 24th, 1624, Londres"—somewhat startling at first sight, as Hilliard died in 1619; but I hear on inquiry that this need not disturb us, because in the original manuscript this endorsement is in a different handwriting—whether that of Richard Haydock or another, I know not—from the body of the work, whilst all that follows it is again in a more modern caligraphy, and one cannot help asking oneself whether this post-script may be the work of the author of one or other of the well-known MSS. on the same subject, such as Edward Norgate, whose *Miniatura* is in the Bodleian, or Daniel King, whose similar treatise is amongst the Additional¹⁰ MSS. at the British Museum, or the Harleian number 6000 or 6376, or again Michael Uffington's Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 84120.

Harl. 6000 was in Walpole's day known as Hilliard on Limning, but it was obviously written in the reign of Charles I, and is now attributed, directly or indirectly, to Edward Norgate,¹¹ whose *Miniatura* appears to have formed the basis of other essays, which are all similar in substance, and at times read *verbatim* with the latter part of Hilliard's manuscript, whilst they borrow various matters from the text of the earlier portion.

But it is not for me to offer any opinion on the subject, for a minute comparison of the original MSS. now at Edinburgh, at Oxford, and in London respectively.

quotation is taken, in 1590, though he did not publish his book till 1598, but from internal evidence it is clear that the treatise cannot have been written till 1592, and it appears to me that, had it been ready when Haydock published his *Lomazzo*, he would not have spoken of a promise."

¹⁰ Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 12461, *Miniatura*, by Dan King.

¹¹ *History of Portrait Miniatures*, by Dr. George Williamson, vol. ii. pp. 148 to 152.

and the knowledge of caligraphy, which I do not possess, would be required to decide the matter; and I must turn from Hilliard the author, Hilliard the miniaturist, to Hilliard the goldsmith.

Whether he kept a shop we have no means of ascertaining, but he is always spoken of with respect by his contemporaries, and is styled "gentleman"¹² in official documents of 1587, of 1604, and of 1617; we read of him constantly as "Mr. Hilliard," and the authors of the essays¹³ on "Limning," to which I have just referred, speak of him as "old Mr. Hilliard." That he was in good circumstances is clear from the fine clothes and the jewelled button in his hat, in which he portrayed himself, but it is likely that a great part of his income was derived from painting.

We know that he gave lessons in that art. Isaac Oliver¹⁴ was said to be his pupil, and in a private letter, written by the ancestress of a friend of mine, the lady describes how she, in the year 1595, is having lessons in drawing from "Mr. Hilliard." It is a pity that she does not mention what sum she paid. The amounts received by our artist varied much; we have a payment,¹⁵ dated Dec., 1603, of "xix^{li} x^s" for his paynes and travell being appointed by direction to make certeyne picture (*sic*)

¹² Rymer's *Foedera*, tom. xvii. p. 15; and *Privy Seal Book*, vol. 3, f. 62, at Record Office, &c.

¹³ Harl. 6000, f. 10 B, Harl. 6376, f. 40, and Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 34120.

¹⁴ Richard Haydock says, in the preface to his translation "*Lomazzo*" in his *Arte of Curious Painting*, "Mr. Nicholas Hilliard, so much admired by strangers, whose true and lively Image you may otherwise behold more than reflected upon the mirrours and glasses of his two schollars, Mr. Isaac Oliver for limning and Rowland Locky for Oyle and Lim. in some measure," &c.

¹⁵ *Antiquary*, Sept., 1885, vol. xii. p. 91, where Mr. Alfred Beaver quotes from an office-book of the Treasurer of Chambers.

of his Matie wch were by his Highness given unto the Duke of Denmarke's Embassador ;" and again of " viij^{ll} " in the January of 1614-15, "for a picture of the prince in lymnen drawn to the waste, with a rich christall thereon."

Lesser sums seem to have been paid by private persons. In some accounts to be found at Hardwick Hall, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, it is amusing to read, "1592. Item, given the xxvij of Julye to one Mr. Hilliard for the drawing of one pictur, xl^s." "Item, given unto the same Mr. Hilliard twentie shillings;" but whether the last "item" was a further payment for the "one pictur" mentioned above or for framing the same, does not appear. Possibly Hilliard's prices rose with his advancing years, for Dallaway,¹⁶ in a note to Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, says that his charges were so high that we need not be surprised that we do not find more of his works. Be this as it may, he was evidently constantly employed by Elizabeth and her Court, and examples are known of his painting one member of a family after another, as in the instance of the Queen's cousins, the Hunsdens.

De Piles¹⁷ again relates, as worthy of notice, the high estimate placed by Mr. Simon Fanshaw upon "two wonderful pieces of his . . . by him valued, not without reason, as 'tis the opinion of some good judges, at above 50 guineas each, tho' not much bigger than a Crown Piece."

What would these critics and still more Hilliard have thought had they known that these identical miniatures

¹⁶ *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. 1888, vol. i. p. 174.

¹⁷ De Piles, *Art of Painting*, 1706, p. 430.

or their replicas, when sold at Christie's a short time ago, realized no less a sum than £2200, and that their present possessor gave a yet larger price for them?

The instance of these portraits of Hilliard and his father, which I mentioned as being in the collection of Mr. George Salting, bears upon the works of our artist as a goldsmith, for the frame originally enclosing one of them is still at Penshurst, and by the kindness of Lord de L'Isle I have had the opportunity of carefully examining it.

Vertue says the two miniatures were taken out of their frames and set in a snuff-box; Walpole, that the snuff-box was given by Lord Leicester to Marshal Sir Robert Rich; whilst de Piles, publishing in 1706, describes them as being still in their frames in the collection of Mr. Fanshaw. Be this as it may, Mr. Currie now has a portrait of Nicholas in its original inscribed setting, whilst Mr. Salting possesses a similar one unset with its companion picture of Richard Hilliard, removed from Lord de L'Isle's singularly beautiful silver-gilt case. But as our artist painted himself at least four times, and his father twice, it is difficult to trace the precise history of the various specimens.

Of course, the question arises—Are we certain Hilliard was the maker of the frames for his paintings? We have only probability to guide us and the comparison of lettering and treatment, in the few instances where the miniatures remain as originally mounted; unless, as in Lord de L'Isle's case, the evidence of an inscription is before us.

The back of this frame is of a diaper pattern, of very fine workmanship, in rather low relief; whilst we must admire the veining of the leaf-shaped claws which

connect this thin disk with the inscribed circle at one time enclosing the miniature. It seems to me that the hand capable of such work might have produced Elizabeth's medallic treasures.

It is a matter of regret that so many of Hilliard's works have been removed from their surroundings. The splendid jewel, acquired by Charles I from Laurence Hilliard, the son and successor of Nicholas, which represented the battle of Bosworth in fine enamel, no longer exists—only the miniatures which formed part of the ornament; the portraits of Henry VII, of Henry VIII, of Edward VI, and Jane Seymour, remain at Windsor. There are still in the Royal Collection some few jewels containing Hilliard's works; and many of his best productions at Montague House are in the plain gold cases characteristic of his time, with a twisted scroll of contemporary workmanship; whilst the picture of his father is enclosed in an enamelled pendant, and that of his wife in an old carved wooden frame. But these contain no evidence regarding his work as a medallist.

In the cabinet of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, there is a fine numismatic portrait of Elizabeth set as a pendant, which bears upon our subject; it is known as the Armada Jewel, and when it was sold at Christie's, in July, 1902; it was¹² thought to be the work of Hilliard, as Elizabeth's goldsmith [see **PL XXIII. 1**]. It may be worth while to mention, as a proof of the high estimation in which it was held, that it realized no less a sum than £5250 in the auction-room.

It was at that time believed that it was presented by the Queen to Sir Francis Drake, who returned from his

¹² See Forrer's *Dictionary of Medallists*, under "Hilliard."

famous voyage in 1580, a date which appears upon the miniature of Elizabeth, contained in the jewelled case. The picture is unsigned, but bears unmistakable evidence of being by Nicholas Hilliard. Drake was knighted by his sovereign on the 4th of April, 1581, and he received several marks of favour at her hands, amongst others a hat jewel,¹⁹ an especial mark of honour, but this ornament is still in the possession of a member of the distinguished admiral's family—Sir F. Fuller Elliott-Drake—together with another splendid pendant set with a cameo of fine Oriental sardonyx, carved with the jugate heads of a fair woman and a negro, a favourite device of the time.²⁰ This jewel, which Sir Francis wears in his picture by Zucchero, I have not seen, but I understand that the enamelled setting is more elaborate than even that of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's gem, and, though it also encloses a miniature of Elizabeth by Hilliard, I have never heard it suggested that the case should be of his workmanship. Indeed, from the written description thereof, and from the comparison of the two pieces as pictured, I have not been led to believe that one jeweller was responsible for both ornaments, though the substitution of a cameo for the golden bust of the Queen, which appears on the Armada Jewels, would not wholly discountenance the supposition, inasmuch as we have reason to think that Hilliard may have been a gem-cutter as well as a medallist. But on this point I shall have more to say later. We must return to the work which Mr. L. Forrer, in his *Dictionary of Medallists*, notes as ascribed to Hilliard.

¹⁹ No. 145 in the South Kensington Exhibition Catalogue of 1872, figured on Plate xxxiv, 3 of Mr. H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery*.

²⁰ No. 144 in the same catalogue, and described and illustrated in H. Clifford Smith's *Jewellery*, p. 253 and Plate xxxiv, 4.

Careful investigation has led Dr. George Williamson, the author of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's splendidly illustrated catalogue, to decide in favour of the claims of Sir Francis Walsingham, as being the original recipient of the Armada Jewel. His work in averting the threatened invasion of our shores by the Spanish Fleet evoked, it appears, such a recognition at Elizabeth's hands, and Dr. Williamson tells us that "the gift which the Queen made to him was carried by an heiress into another family in the time of James I, and lost sight of; but it seems likely that this jewel is the missing treasure."

The frontispiece of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's catalogue, which is printed for private circulation only, though presented to various museums, shows forth a hand-coloured illustration of this gem. The copyright is preserved on Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan's behalf by Dr. Williamson, but by his kind permission I am able to reproduce it [see Pl. XXIII. 1].

The obverse of the jewel is occupied by a bust in gold in high relief, upon a background of dark blue enamel; the profile portrait of the Queen in a very large ruff, and an embroidered bodice with slashed sleeve is turned to the left. Around the edge of the medallion, on a riband of paler blue in gold lettering, are the words, "Elizabetha D.G. Ang Fra et Hib Regina." These letters form a strong bond of union between Hilliard's known works, the Great Seal of England of 1586 and the Armada Badge (*Med. III.*, vol. i. p. 154, No. 129) with which I hope to compare it. The golden effigy is now protected by a convex glass, and though I have been permitted to handle and examine the jewel, this impediment naturally stands in the way of minute comparison as to workmanship with

other specimens not so covered. I therefore speak with diffidence, but it seems to me possible that the artist, if he gave us this fine bust of the Queen, may have also executed the still more elaborately finished Armada Badge, No. 129, illustrated here from the National Collection [see **Pl. XXIII. 2**].

Mr. Pierpont Morgan's jewel has been compared with many other specimens of medallic work, from the point of view of design, but not of execution. When sold at Christie's, it was described as "a replica of the famous gold medal now in the British Museum;" presumably by this was meant the Phoenix Jewel (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 125, No. 71), so called on account of the legendary bird portrayed on the reverse side. This Phoenix Jewel is so fine a piece of goldsmith's work and enamelling, that I should hesitate to suggest this comparison, and the portrait is by no means identical. A medallion exists (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 124, No. 70) bearing a similar presentation of Elizabeth to that on the Phoenix Jewel, but of less minute workmanship; of this there is a modern imitation, which is signed "Nicholls," but the original work is unsigned. Evelyn²¹ gave a very bad drawing of this medal, with the head looking in the contrary direction (to right instead of to left). He dated it 1574, but assigned no reasons for so doing. One specimen in the British Museum has the same figures roughly incised, but these, though not modern in character, appear to have been subsequently added. The badge, No. 70, is rather coarse in execution, and in this is unlike the beautiful Phoenix Jewel (No. 71) taken from the same design, and surrounded with a wreath of enamelled

²¹ Evelyn's *Discourse on Medals*, p. 93, Fig. ix.

flowers; but I understand that there exists another highly finished example in a private collection, which may have served as model for the more elaborate pendant: it is, however, not in the Phoenix Badge that we find a prototype of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's jewel.

The portrait on the obverse of this ornament far more nearly resembles another medallion (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 132, No. 85) known as the Garter or Personal Badge. Here the bust is identical, excepting that Elizabeth wears behind her head a "huke," or gauze veil stretched on wires, and this is not the case in the far more beautiful Armada Jewel. This badge is of contemporary origin, but looks like a rough copy of the same design. It has been attributed to the year 1582, but it is thought, from the nature of the reverse decoration, to be possibly intended to commemorate the investiture of Frederick the Second of Denmark with the Order of the Garter in 1578, or that of Henry III of France, who was knighted in 1575.

Let us turn to the reverse of the Armada Jewel, and we shall find it to be similar to that of one of the Naval Rewards of 1588 (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 148, No. 119); but this also is by a different and I should say a fairly modern craftsman. There is, however, at the British Museum a contemporary leaden medallion (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 149, No. 120), with obverse decoration only; it is probable there may have been complete pieces of this date, which gave rise to imitations. This reverse design of the ark upon the waters was frequently used as a symbol, and appears on another remarkable English jewel now at Milan.²² In this medallion the design is carved

²² *Jewellery*, by H. Clifford Smith, p. 256, Plate xxxv. 3.

in low relief in mother-of-pearl. I have not seen it, and therefore cannot say whether it is likely to be from the same hand as the Armada Jewel. The taste for this simile of England's escape from her dangers survived, for I find the ark engraved on a silver-gilt box in my own collection of the time of James I, which bears portraits of the King, of Lord Howard of Effingham, of Lord Bacon, and various coats-of-arms; and it appears upon several of his badges (*Med. Ill.*, p. 233, No. 95, to 234, No. 97).

I have stated that I am unable to point to any piece of enamel work and say definitely, "This is by Hilliard," in order to compare it with the elaborate setting of Mr. Pierpont Morgan's gem; but there remains to us certain evidence of his industry as an engraver of seals, and it seems to me, though I may be wrong, that Elizabeth's second Great Seal [see Pls. XXIV., XXV.] forms the connecting link between the gold profile bust on the Armada Jewel—his possible work—and the beautiful highly finished medallion in the British Museum, known as the Armada Badge, No. 129.

We know that Hilliard engraved this seal himself, because, in some memoranda²² annexed to a lease of the year 1587, signed by Walsingham and by Burleigh and Mildmay respectively, we find the manor of Poyle, in the parish of Stanwell, in the county of Middlesex, and various other properties to the value of £40, granted for 21 years to "Nicholas Hilliard, gentleman, her Mat^{ies} servant . . . as well in respect of his paynes lately employed in the engraving of the great Seale of England as for divers

²² Augmentation Office: Particulars for Leases and Reversions, No. 35, 1587. Public Record Office.

other services for which as yet he never received any recompence or allowance."

The order for making the Great Seal is to be found in the State Papers as early as July 15th, 1584, at which time Hilliard's design was already approved. The letter was addressed to Derick Anthony, graver of the Mint, and to Nicholas Hilliard, as follows: "As our Great Seal by much use waxes unserviceable, we have resolved that a new one shall be made. We therefore desire you to emboss in lead, wax, or other fit stuff, patterns for a new one, according to the last pattern made upon parchment by you, Hildyard, and allowed by us; and by the same pattern to engrave and bring to perfection a new Great Seal in silver, of convenient massiveness, in form as near as may be to the former, and when finished, deliver it to our Chancellor, to be brought to us."²¹

If it were not for the words, "his paynes lately employed in the engraving," in the lease above mentioned, we might think that Hilliard's part in the matter was limited to the design, because the order is in part addressed to Derick Anthony, but on consideration this need not trouble us, for we have no authority for supposing that

²¹ Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Ser., Addenda, Green. 1580-1625, p. 125, vol. xxviii. No. 86. I have given this reading as printed in the Calendar of State Papers, where it is dated July 8th, but the original document, No. 86 in vol. xxviii. of the Record Office, is somewhat differently worded, and authorizes Anthony and Hilliard "to emboss by yourselves or by other skilful workmen by your choice if need require it—in lead wax or other stuff fitt for that purpose patterns for a great Seale according to the last pattern made upon parchment by you our servant Hellyard delivered unto us and by us allowed and by the same patterns you shall work engrave sink and bring to perfection ready to be used with all convenient Speede such a new Seale in silver of convenient massiveness meate for the worke according to your directions," &c., &c. This MS. bears the date July 15th, 1584, not the 8th as calendaried.

Nicholas Hilliard held any official position at the Mint, and it might be necessary that he should obtain the assistance of Anthony in being allowed access to the tools and bullion required, whilst Derick Anthony²⁵ held the post of chief engraver at the Mint, an office we believe him to have filled from the end of the reign of Edward VI to *circa* 1599, when he was succeeded by his son Charles.²⁶ To this Charles Anthony, in turn, we find the order addressed on May 17, 1600, for a fresh seal, "according to a pattern from Nich. Hildyard of the same massiveness, form and compass as the former."²⁷

Vertue²⁸ and Walpole²⁹ are, perhaps, not very reliable authorities, but, according to these authors, Hilliard was not only well qualified to engrave the Great Seal, but was a cutter of gems. Vertue gives a description of "a sardonyx—a fine stone, wherein was cut inward the head of K. Henry VIII, K. Ed. 6, Mary and Elizabeth his children." He says that Marlowe, a jeweller, told him it was by Nicholas Hilliard, and that he sold it "many years ago to the famous Earl of

²⁵ Derick Anthony was "capital sculptor of the monies of the Tower" in the sixth year of Edward VI (see Vertue, MS. 23072, f. 79, and Ruding, vol. i. p. 44). The latter author does not mention him under Philip and Mary, but the State Papers contain constant orders addressed to him by Elizabeth.

²⁶ Charles Anthony received a grant dated June 30, 1599, of the office of Graver of the Mint and seals in place of his father, "Derick Anthony, deceased, who lately held the same office, for £30 a year" (Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, p. 224, 1598-1601, vol. cclxi.).

²⁷ Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1598-1601, p. 437, vol. cclxiv. No. 145. I find that the original draft in the Record Office runs, "according to a pattern which we have used and remaineth with Nicholas Hilliard our servant, we will and command you to give order to Charles Anthony graver of our mynt by himself and by the help of their skillful workmen to engrave finish," &c., &c.

²⁸ Vertue, Add. MS., Brit. Mus. 23070, f. 79.

²⁹ Walpole's *Anecdotes*, ed. 1888, vol. i. p. 108.

Exeter," having previously taken a cast of it in lead. The present Lord Exeter has not such a stone in his collection, and can find no trace of it. True, the Duke of Devonshire possesses a cameo—not an intaglio—which Walpole attributes to our artist, and by the duke's kindness I have carefully examined it, but Vertue says, still quoting Marlowe, that this latter gem is but a copy of Lord Exeter's. It appears to me to be of late seventeenth-century work, and is certainly not catalogued at Devonshire House as being by Hilliard. Mr. Fortnum,³⁰ writing in 1874, discountenances the theory that he was an engraver of stones, and suggests the name of Atsyll, who acted in that capacity for Henry VIII and Edward VI. He mentions that the group of these kings and the two queens is also represented by a gem "in the possession of Captain Peel." Whether this is the stone Marlowe sold to Lord Exeter, who shall say? The Duke of Devonshire has two other engraved portraits of Elizabeth, and one of these is a particularly beautiful cameo in high relief set in a case containing miniatures of the Queen and of Leicester by Hilliard. This enamelled locket served as a model for the setting of the famous "Devonshire parure." The "picture-box" is attributed by Mr. King, in his *Antique Gems*, to the workmanship of Hilliard, but he thinks the cameo is by Coldoré. Mr. Handcock, in his *Catalogue of the Devonshire Gems*, suggests Valerio Vincendino, but this artist died in 1546, when Elizabeth was only thirteen years old, so this must be a mistake. It appears to me possible that Hilliard might himself be the carver of the stone.

³⁰ *Archæologia*, xlv. p. 19.

The enamel work is as fine as that of any of the Elizabethan jewellers.

Apart from the question of dates, if there be anything in my theory that the royal goldsmith at times made the gems as well as the setting for his own miniatures, I should be inclined to agree with Vertue that the Duke's version of the family group is not that originally carved by Hilliard, for it is clearly not by the same hand as the more highly finished head of Elizabeth.

The proofs that our artist was a gem-engraver are thus seen to be slight, and do not warrant us in suggesting that he held the position of graver of stones—a post then paid at £20 a year.³¹ Hilliard, it is true, received an official salary, but Walpole³² says it amounted to the larger sum of £30, the same as that enjoyed by Holbein, and not £20 a year. He bases his theory on the fact that £30 was due to Hilliard of his pension at the time of his death, but as the Court payments were constantly many months, even years in arrears, there seems no certainty that the deficit of only one year is signified. We know, however, that Hilliard held the appointment of limner both to Elizabeth and to James, and as such would be entitled to a fixed remuneration of £30 a year.

It is reasonable to suppose that Hilliard, therefore, without any connection with the Mint, but merely as one of the Queen's jewellers—for she had many³³—put forth a

³¹ Vertue, Add. MS. Brit. Mus., 23070, f. 79 B, gives a list of salaries paid to various officials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For the year 1597 he quotes "Sergeant-Painter for his fee and others, £100; Graver of Stone, £20; Graver of Coins in the Mint of London, £30."

³² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 176.

³³ Affabel Portridge, Nicholas Herrick, Hugh Kayle, Richard Martin, and others; see *Jewellery*, by H. Clifford Smith, p. 220.

drawing for the Great Seal, which took her fancy, and received her order to engrave it in silver, she therein proving her good sense, for there is reason to believe that the first Great Seal is the work of Derick Anthony, in whose province it would naturally have lain to make the fresh one. It is very inferior to Hilliard's in design and execution.

This second Great Seal is of remarkable beauty, and whilst the obverse [see **Pl. XXIV.**] shows us the Queen facing us, as on the Armada Badge, the counterseal [see **Pl. XXV.**] gives a representation of her on horseback, her shoulder and bust assuming the same position as in the Armada Jewel, the arrangement of the sleeve and ruff, both in design and treatment, recalling the golden profile portrait, though the face remains three-quarters to right on both sides of the seal as on the badge.

It is not easy to speak with decision concerning details in an old wax impression, but I have been permitted to examine two very fine examples in the British Museum, and to me the lettering in the pieces under discussion is remarkably similar, especially in the rather peculiar capital letters R with a long tail, and g much incurved at the base, which appears to be characteristic of Hilliard's work, whilst the three portraits, excepting the position of the head in Mr. Pierpont Morgan's jewel, are reminiscent of each other.

In the *Burlington Magazine*, 1904, p. 577, and subsequently in Part III. Plate 32 of the Vasari Society's publication, Mr. Campbell Dodgson illustrated a beautiful little drawing from the collection of Mr. Peter Gellatly, consisting of a design for a Great Seal by Hilliard, which, by the courtesy of the owner and of the Vasari Society, I am able to reproduce [see **Pl. XXVI.**]. Mr. Dodgson believes this sketch to have been intended for the Great

Seal of Ireland, and though he has been unable to trace any impressions therefrom, he tells us that in the Calendar of Irish State Papers, such a seal is often mentioned and certainly existed. The use of the emblems employed—the harp and the three crowns super-imposed—would lead us to think that this sketch was indeed intended for the sister isle rather than an early design meant for use in England but subsequently altered by the artist to an older-looking portrait of the Queen. On the other hand, the words used by Elizabeth in her directions for making the Great Seal (see p. 342), "according to the *last* pattern made upon parchment by you, Hildyard," might suggest that the artist had successively submitted several sketches, and this might be amongst those rejected. If my readers will compare this sketch with the Armada Badge, they will be struck by the resemblance in the open ruff, the costume, the treatment in detail, though perhaps actually in physiognomy the badge more nearly reproduces the English design. To me it appears that the Irish drawing is the connecting link between the Great Seal as executed in England and this beautiful medallion. In the sketch the lettering is illegible, so affords no clue as to whether the words engraved on the badge and the Irish seal were of similar construction.

There are other so-called Armada Badges (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. pp. 154, 155, Nos. 130, 131, &c.). These are also thought to be of English workmanship, but some of them are modern imitations, and I do not think that I have seen any which seemed to me to be of absolutely contemporary production, though the portrait on them may be traced to an interesting Elizabethan thin embossed silver plate (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 183, No. 186). This, though a rough sketch, is not unsuggestive of

clever design, and I must not omit to mention a charming and well-finished little *repoussé* head of the Queen (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 182, No. 185), no doubt made for insertion in a jewel. A similar though rather larger medallion is mounted in a crystal engraved tazza in the National Collection. These bear no lettering, and, though the little bust is not unlike that on the Armada Badge, one cannot say that there is sufficient reason to attribute the cup or its engraved silver mounting to Hilliard rather than to any other of the Queen's goldsmiths.

If, then, the Great Seal be the only work of Hilliard with which we can with any certainty compare Elizabeth's medals, let us see whether, under James I, the evidence of the employment of our artist as "embosser of medals of gold" strengthens or contradicts my argument.

There are many entries in the Calendars of State Papers concerning the King's jewellers. James orders costly chains as gifts to his ambassadors, from John Williams³⁴ and George Heriot,³⁵ the making of seals and of dies for the coinage is entrusted to Charles Anthony, but the first mention of Hilliard's name does not specify a payment for services rendered, but rather a token of esteem from the monarch—July 9, 1604, "grant to Nich. Hillyard of 147^l 12^s the King's gift, forfeited by William Beech, for shipping uncustomed corn."³⁶ The next item is, however, of more interest to the numismatist: "Dec. 26, 1604. Warrant to pay to Nich. Hilliard 64^l 10^s for 12 gold medals."³⁷

³⁴ State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1603-10, p. 147, vol. ix., Aug 30th, 1604.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1623-25. Warrant to pay Geo. Heriot's executors for such a chain in Dec., 1624, p. 422, vol. clxxvii.

³⁶ State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1603-1610, p. 131, vol. viii.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1603-1610, p. 179, vol. x.

I examined this order in the Privy Seal Book, vol. 3, fol. 62, at the Public Record Office. The warrant specifies that Hilliard had made "sertaine medallias to the number of twelve in god (*sic*) wh. at the rate of three pounds the ounse amount to the sum of fyve and forty pounds. The making and workmanship of the same amounting to nyne-teen Pounds ten shillings making in the whole the sum of threescore and four pounds ten shillings." This would give an approximate weight of 600 grains for each medal.

Now, what and where are these gold medals of 1604? There is a gold medal in the Hunter Collection (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 233, No. 96), but it is rough in execution and in design, and it weighs only 483 grains. James I's coronation medals are in no way remarkable, and though the *cliché* pattern for a golden bezant³⁸ (a coin worth about £15, used for presentation by English sovereigns upon high festivals of the Church) is a splendid piece of work, with a fine diaper ground, not unlike the back of Lord de L'Isle's frame, the lettering does not specially recall that used by Hilliard; and this strengthens my argument, for I find the bezant to be the work of Anthony, as I purpose to show later.

But there is a medal of which Pinkerton, in his *Medallic History*,³⁹ writes, without any explanation, that "it is supposed to have been done by Hilliard." Possibly he may have obtained evidence unknown to me, or he may have been guided by the fact that the medal was struck in gold in the year 1604 [see **Pl. XXIII. 3**]. This is the badge struck to commemorate the "Peace with Spain,"⁴⁰ described in *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 193, No. 14, and

³⁸ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 187, No. 2.

³⁹ *Medallic History*, p. 33, No. 6, Pl. xii. 6.

⁴⁰ The peace with Spain was concluded on August 18, 1604.

figured on Plate xiv. 14 of the new edition of that work. There is, in the British Museum, a very fine example of this medal—the face, three-quarter to right, is in almost as high relief as Elizabeth's Armada Badge, No. 129, and though, of course, the dress of the King does not allow of as much elaboration as the Queen's embroidered bodice, such decoration as the design permits is faithfully rendered with the same care as we find in the miniature of James I by our artist, which much resembles it, even in size and position, in the Duke of Buccleuch's collection, though in the painting the dress is slightly more decorated, and the head does not support a crown.

The beautiful workmanship of the struck specimen illustrated is by no means reproduced in the common cast and chased copies with an openwork border, which are much better known.¹¹ Again, by a different hand, though with the same reverse decoration as our medal, is that described in *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 194, No. 16, to commemorate the same event—the peace with Spain—for this should surely be the work of a foreigner.

Some jetons of the reign of James I, representing respectively Anne of Denmark (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 192, No. 12, Plate xiv. 12) and Henry Prince of Wales (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. pp. 200-201, Nos. 29 and 30), suggest inquiry; for these medals bear great affinity to each other, and that of Anne reminds us strongly of the miniature of her at Windsor by our artist—whilst the workmanship of all three is far above the average of most of those produced at the Court of James. The portrait of the Queen is the same as we find on a thin

¹¹ *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 194, No. 15.

cliché cast and chased (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 192, No. 13, Plate xiv. 13), which recalls to us the embossed⁴² prototype of some of the Armada Badges to which I referred on p. 347; but the finished medal is in low relief, and, together with those of Prince Henry, remind me more in treatment of the best gold coinage of James I. I might, therefore, suggest that those above described should rather be the work of Charles Anthony, who, together with one of his subordinates at the Mint, a certain John Baptist,⁴³ receives orders for making medals in 1604. Amongst other items, Charles Anthony is to receive "for the stamps for one medal which his Highnes hath seen twenty marks and also to pay unto him for the gold patterns and stamps of a fair bezant which he hath made for his Mat^{ies} service xlvii^{li} vi^s." ⁴⁴ This bezant is only known by the *cliché* obverse pattern at the British Museum (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 187, No. 2), and the knowledge that it is by Anthony corroborates my high opinion of his work. I was therefore glad to come across this statement amongst the MSS. at the Record Office. The medals made by Baptist are not described, but are ordered to be "according to such pattern as his Maj^{tie} shall allow." William Holle⁴⁵ was, if we are right in attributing to him the best pieces of the gold coinage of 1619, a yet cleverer artist, but his appointment as chief engraver dates

⁴² *Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 183, No. 186.

⁴³ State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1603-10, vol. ix. p. 160, and vol. x. pp. 164 and 179.

⁴⁴ State Papers, Dom. Ser., 1603-10, vol. x., Nov. 4th, 1604, docquet MS. in Record Office. In *Num. Chron.*, Third Series, Vol. XVI., Col. Sandeman described this bezant, and was inclined to attribute it to Anthony, but he had not the evidence which I have now found.

⁴⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1907, Fourth Series, Vol. VII. pp. 348 and 349, and *ibid.* 1908, Vol. VIII. pp. 275 and 276.

only from 1618—six years after the death of Prince Henry—and we have no means of ascertaining whether he previously made any medals for the Court, though his printed portraits of the Prince of Wales are fine, and the workmanship of the medals equals the rose-ryals and spur-ryals of James. The date of Anne's medal is usually assumed to be that of the coronation; that of Prince Henry, though rather too youthful in appearance, is thought to be probably 1612; but even thus it would be long before the grant of extraordinary privilege to Nicholas Hilliard of 1617, by which he was empowered to take a constable and search the premises of artists who issued portraits of the King and Royal Family, in contrariety to the provisions of a monopoly granted to himself for twelve years.⁴⁶

James, in this document, calls the artist "our well-beloved servant, Nicholas Hillyard Gentleman our principal Drawer for the small portraits and Imbosser of our Medallies of Gold," and gives him the permission to "invent make grave and ymprint any Picture or Pictures of our Image or other Representation of our Person," to the exclusion of other artists, "in respect of his extraordinary Art and Skill in Drawing Graving and Imprinting." The licence has been quoted⁴⁷ in regard to the series of engraved counters of James and his entire house, but we cannot be really sure that Hilliard himself executed any of these, as we know that he passed on his privilege to Simon van de Passe and others, to whose work they bear a close resemblance, whilst after the death of our artist in 1619, his monopoly

⁴⁶ *Rymer's Foedera*, tom. xvii. p. 15.

⁴⁷ *Med. Ill.*, vol. I. p. 375.

descended to his son Laurence for the remainder of its term.

The story of Hilliard's private life is little known. We read⁴⁸ of a serious illness in 1610: "Nicholas Hilliard Painter to the King to Salisbury Has been very ill, but resolved before he died to recommend the suit of Wm. Goldsmith, labourer, who has discovered a new mode of repairing highways at half the usual cost;" but he evidently recovered from this sickness, and continued active in the King's service, probably, however, more in the capacity of artist than of jeweller, as the names which come constantly before us in this office are those of George Heriot, William Herriek, and John Williams. To George Heriot some authorities attribute the making of the beautiful Lyte Jewel, of undoubted pedigree, in the Waddesden Bequest at the British Museum, and the fine miniature it contains is said, by Mr. Clifford Smith,⁴⁹ to be by Isaac Oliver, but it is more generally thought to be the work of Hilliard, and although the shadows are somewhat deeper than is usually the case with the paintings by our artist, I should be inclined to agree with this attribution.⁵⁰ It has been suggested that the jewelled case, no less than the miniature, is by Hilliard, but the fact that there is no *medallic* work attached to it renders it useless for the purposes of my argument, and the jeweller's work appears to be finer than that of some of the pieces already mentioned, whilst the fact that it is impossible to place the various examples side by side renders it rash for any one who, like myself, is no expert in jewellery, to express an opinion.

⁴⁸ State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1603-1610, vol. III. p. 595.

⁴⁹ *Jewellery*, by Mr. H. Clifford Smith, p. 303.

⁵⁰ British Museum Catalogue of the Waddesden Bequest, Introduction, vii.; and Somerset Archaeological Proceedings, 1892, vol. 38, pt. II. p. 63.

John Williams, like Hilliard, was a maker of medals, and I have endeavoured to trace certain "golden medallions" for which he received payment in 1605 and 1606, but the weight of these pendants given in Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer* do not agree with any which I have been able to find in the National Collection or elsewhere. The gold medal I have ascribed to Hilliard turns the scale at 556 grs., and it is the most solid and massive of the few gold pieces which survive, whereas the medallions of Williams weigh from 720 to 780 grains each. I noticed on p. 349 that the medals for which Hilliard was paid £64 10s. must have weighed rather more than 556 grains if the 15 ozs. of gold be equally divided between the twelve; but apart from the fact that the specimen known to me may have slightly lost weight, it is possible that a few of the examples may have had borders, thus giving rise to that seen upon the cast copy (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 194, No. 15). The practice of occasionally further embellishing a medallion was not infrequent; for instance, of the three known specimens of the "Attempted Union Medal" (*Med. Ill.*, vol. i. p. 194, No. 17), two are plain and one has a border. If a similar decoration to that on No. 15 had been added to three or four pieces, the extra weight would be easily disposed of, but it is fair to state that I have never seen an example of No. 14 with a border.

But to return from his possible productions to the known domestic history of our artist. His wife, Alicia Brandon, must, to judge by her miniature at Montague House, at the age of twenty-two, when delineated by him, have been a very attractive woman, no less handsome than her husband. The picture, in its contemporary carved wooden frame, is dated 1578, and bears the following

inscription: "*Alicia Brandon, Nicholai Hillyardi qui propriae manu depinxit uxor prima*"—thus giving us to understand that after her death the artist married again; the portrait must, therefore, have been painted from memory, or the lettering must have been added later by the widower, and I think this is the more probable explanation. Of his second wife we know nothing, but we may fairly assume that he survived her, for in his will,⁵¹ after leaving twenty shillings to the poor of his parish, some goods to his servant, and making bequests to his sisters of £20 and £10 respectively, he constitutes his son Laurence his sole heir and executor, whether of "goods, effects, or jewels."

This son had, in 1607, already received from James the office⁵² of "Limner in reversion after Nicholas Hillyard his father," but I have never found any mention of him as a medallist or goldsmith, though his works as a miniature-painter are well known.

Nicholas died on the 7th of January, 1619, and was buried in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, in which parish he resided.

I can now only apologize for the length of this paper, and trust that others more qualified to judge of numismatic work will weigh such evidence as I have been able to collect in support of a theory that we have in Nicholas Hilliard an embosser of medals of gold of no mean capacity, and that possibly to him we may attribute some of the finest medals of Elizabeth and James, whilst I am most ready to admit that, except with regard to the Queen's second Great Seal, absolute proof thereof I have none.

⁵¹ Vertue, Add. MS. Brit. Mus., 23069, f. 50 B.

⁵² State Papers, Dom. Ser., Green, 1603-1610, Oct. 3, 1607, vol. xxviii. p. 374.

May I be allowed to take this opportunity of thanking those who have permitted me to inspect or illustrate from their collections, or assisted with information, and specially to state my obligations to Mr. Grueber, whose constant kindness to me in the Medal Room of the British Museum has made my task an easy one?

HELEN FARQUHAR.

XVIII.

COINS OF THE SHAHS OF PERSIA.

I. SILVER.

FROM ISMAIL I SEFAVI TO THE REFORM OF THE
CURRENCY BY NADER. 1499-1737 A.D.

MR. REGINALD STUART POOLE'S *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia* is so complete, and the information therein given has been so carefully verified, that it would be presumption on my part to add to it, had I not had the opportunity of examining a collection of coins covering the same period and twice as large as that of the British Museum.

When studying Oriental coins one is always confronted by the miscal, or unit of weight for bullion, prevalent in all Mahommedan countries.

The miscal is the equivalent of 24 nakhods or peas, and the nakhod is equivalent to four gandums or grains of wheat. Such is the definition of the miscal, but so great is the difficulty of determining its exact weight that the Committee for the Reform of the Currency in Egypt, although it had at its disposal glass weights of the time of the Caliphs, finally decided to set aside the miscal and adopt the metric system.

Hanway, who visited Persia towards the middle of the eighteenth century, gives the equivalent of the miscal

as 71.18 grains. General A. H. Schindler gives it as 71.065 grains, but does not mention on what authority.

When the Imperial Bank of Persia started operations in Persia in 1890, it had to import capital in bar silver to be coined in Tehran. A standard weight had to be fixed. Hajji Mohammed Hassan, Amin ez Zarb, late Mint-master to the Persian Government, and Mr. Rabino, chief manager of the Bank, after a series of experiments with the Mint and Bank weights, established the proportion between miscals and ounces troy as 250 miscals = 37 ounces troy, or 1 miscal = 71.04 grains. This has ever since been recognized as the equivalent of the miscal for bullion transactions.

I must add that when the Customs Administration were preparing the New Commercial Convention they had no knowledge of this standard, having at the time no control over the Mint, and after weighing the heavy weights in use in their administration, they fixed the equivalent of the batman Tabrizi of 640 miscals as 2.97 kilogrammes. This equivalent is confirmed, so to say, by treaty. On taking charge of the Mint the Customs found an established standard weight for bullion, which they maintained.

There is consequently now in Persia a legal weight for bullion, the miscal of 71.04 grains; and a legal weight for merchandise, the miscal of 71.61 grains.

It may be worth mentioning that when the Customs took charge of the Mint, some four or five years ago, they found that grains of wheat were still used for weighing gold.

There is no doubt whatever that the silver coinage of the Shahs of Persia is based on multiples of the nakhod; and if we follow Mr. Poole's example and adopt, for

convenience' sake, the equivalent of the miscal as 72 grains, the nakhod will equal 3 grains.¹

ISMAIL I. 1502-1524 A.D. = 907-930 A.H.

Shah Ismail's first coinage was based on multiples of 12, but towards 928 A.H. he adopted a new currency based on multiples of 10. We thus have two series: 96, 48, 24, 18, 12, 6 nakhods, and 120, 60, 40, 30, 20, 15, 10, 5; or in grains, 288, 144, 72, 54, 36, 18, and 360, 180, 120, 90, 60, 45, 30, 15.

For the first series I find the weights to be—

Highest	288	142·8	73·2	53·4
Lowest	279	134·0	67·3	47·5
Average ²	283·5 (2)	138·4 (2)	70·7 (9)	49·5 (3)

For the second series—

Highest	156·2	120·7	60·5	30·2
Lowest	156·2	119·4	59·1	30·2
Average	156·2 (1)	120·2 (6)	59·7 (3)	30·2 (1)

The date of the death of Ismail I is given in this chronograph—

از جهان رفت و ظل شدش تاریخ سایه تاریخ آفتاب شد

TAHMASP I. 1524-1576 A.D. = 930-984 A.H.

Shah Tahmasp continued to issue multiples of 10, which between 949 and 955 A.H. he reduced to multiples of 12.

¹ For a general account of the currency in Persia from Ismail I Sefavi to our days, see "Banking in Persia," by J. Rabino, in *Journal of the Institute of Bankers*, February, 1892, pp. 21-24.

² The figures in brackets indicate the number of coins on which the averages are based.

The weights are—

Highest	121	92.2	46.4 and	72.4	35.1
Lowest	118	78.7	44.1	68.3	28.2
Average	119 (4)	83.6 (3)	45.2 (2)	70.6 (8)	32.1 (7)

Two coins, one of 80, the other of 78.7 grains, I have taken as short weight for 90 grains.

MOHAMMED KHODABENDEH. 1578-1587 A.D.
= 985-996 A.H.

Of the coinage of Mohammed Khodabende we only have the coin of 72 grains and its half, the weights being—

Highest	72	32.5
Lowest	69.5	27.2
Average	71.9 (11)	30.4 (15)

Amongst the coins of 72 grains of this sovereign, which I have seen, are those struck at Shemakhi, 991; Ardebil, دار الارشد 987 and 988; Kazvin, 989; Nakhchevan, 989; Tabriz, 987. One coin bears the countermark شاهى عدل, whilst another has the obverse obliterated by the countermark شاهى عدل ابروان, and the reverse obliterated by the countermark شاهى عدل اردبيل. The coins of 36 grains were of the Kazvin and Sari Mint, and all smaller than the dies.

The following titles are new:—

- السلطان الكامل الهادى ابو المظفر سلطان محمد شاه
بهادر خان. —
غلام امام محمد المهدي عليه السلام شاه سلطان محمد
خدا بنده پادشاه الصفوى. —
غلام امام محمد المهدي عليه السلام سلطان ابو مظفر
محمد پادشاه. —
غلام امام محمد مهدي عليه وآله السلام سلطان محمد
پادشاه بهادر خان بن طهماسب شاه الصفوى الحسينى. —

ABBAS I. 1587-1629 A.D. = 996-1038 A.H.

Shah Abbas continued the coinage of his predecessor, but already in 1005 A.H. he had reverted to multiples of 10. We know that during his reign a toman, or 10,000 dinars of money, was equivalent to 50 abbasis, a coin weighing 120 grains. An abbasi was divided into four shahis, a shahi weighing consequently 30 grains.

The weights are—

Highest	143·7	and	177·7	118·4	59·4	14
Lowest	140		177·7	116·1	56·3	14
Average	141·4 (11)		177·7 (1)	117·2 (26)	57·5 (4)	14 (1)

Amongst his coins we find the hitherto unrecorded inscription, از بهر خزاین سکندرا ضارب علی عباس زد; other coins with بنده شاه ولایت عباس have in margin حلد الله or حلد الله ملکه و سلطانه و عدله و احسانه ملکه و سلطانه و علی العالمیان برده و احسانه.

The coins of 144 grains had been found in Khal-Khal, and were in the possession of the Governor of Kergaurud. Nine of them were Ardebil coins; one was struck at Tehran; and the last one, the only one on which the date was not obliterated, was struck at Kashan, in 996 A.H.

SEFI I. 1629-1642 A.D. = 1038-1052 A.H.

Shah Sefi continued to issue the abbasi of 120 grains. His formula, apart from بنده شاه ولایت صفی, is شاه صفی از جان غلام هست, and Dr. Rieu's reading, شاه هست از جان غلام صفی, should be rejected.

Out of some 120 coins found at Darbend, on the western coast of the Caspian, I picked out 26 different coins of Abbas I, and 82 of Sefi I. They covered a period of

twelve years—1032 to 1044 A.H. The weights of the coins of Shah Sefi were—

Highest	119·7	59·5
Lowest	115·0	59·5
Average	117·8 (82)	59·5 (1)

The mints were Ardebil, Isfahan, Erivan, Hurvaizeh, Tabriz, Resht, Shemakhi, Kazvin, Ganjeh, and Hamadan. 52 of the coins were struck at Tabriz.

ABBAS II. 1642-1666 A.D. = 1052-1077 A.H.

The relation of 5 to 6 or 6 to 5 in the monetary systems from Ismail I to Abbas II rendered the lowering of the standard somewhat easy, but with the introduction of the abbasi of 114 grains under Abbas II, the transition from one currency to the other became more difficult, and we find no change in the currency until 1737.

Tavernier, describing the money of Abbas II, makes the denominations the bisti, shahi, mahmudi, the abbasi, the piece of $2\frac{1}{2}$ abbasis or 10 shahis, and its double the 5-abbasi piece. He gives the weight of the abbasi as being equal to 18 sols 6 deniers, or 130 grains. I find three coins weighing respectively 128·4, 127·8, 124·2 grains, the last being pierced, which may confirm this; but I prefer classifying them as short weight for 142·5, and taking the evidence of some 25 coins, which prove that the currency from 1059 to 1077 A.H. was based on the abbasi of 38 nakhods = 114 grains.

The weights recorded are—

Highest	566·9	141·8	113·2	52·4	41·5	27·4
Lowest	561	127·8	111·8	48·9	38·9	23·2
Average	563·9(2)	137·7(12)	112·5(7)	50·7(3)	40·2(2)	25·4(2)

SOLEIMAN I. 1666-1694 A.D. = 1077-1105 A.H.

Chardin, who visited Persia under Soleiman I, describes the silver money as having been the shahi, equal to $4\frac{1}{2}$ sols, the mahmudi equal to 9 sols, and its double the abbasi, thus equal to 18 sols, or 126·54 grains. This does not tally with the evidence of the coins, which shows that Soleiman issued coins similar to those of his predecessor, and based on the abbasi of 38 nakhods, or 114 grains.

The weights are—

Highest	561·9	285·1	115·0	89·2
Lowest	541·0	252·2	111·3	89·2
Average	551·8 (2)	271·2 (3)	113·3 (15)	89·2 (1)
Highest	57·3	29·0	11·6	
Lowest	48·7	23·2	10·4	
Average	53·8 (11)	27·2 (9)	11 (4)	

The following is a hitherto unpublished distich:—

از عدالت سکه زد صاحبقران
ز امتحان شه سلیمان جهان

The words ز امتحان are doubtful.

SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN. 1694-1722 A.D.
= 1105-1135 A.H.

Shah Sultan Hussein continued to issue the abbasi of 114 grains. He may have, in 1131 A.H., attempted to introduce the abbasi of 72 grains, but the four coins we have, which may induce us to such a belief, are all four pierced, and their weights, 74·3, 70·8, 35·4, and 17·5, cannot be relied upon.

The weights of the coins of this sovereign are—

Highest	4918	836.6	401.2	134.5	114.8
Lowest	4918	836.6	401.2	129.3	106.4
Average	4918 (1)	836.6 (1)	401.2 (1)	132.8 (8)	112.5 (57)
Highest	83.5	57.3	28.3	11.5	
Lowest	78.9	54.3	22.8	11.5	
Average	82.4 (30)	55.5 (2)	25.7 (3)	11.5 (1)	

Coins covering the period 1082 to 1124 A.H. were found near Erivan; the mints were Erivan, Tabriz, Tiflis, and Nakhchevan. A few were coins of Shah Soleiman, but most were of Shah Sultan Hussein. Amongst them I found a whole sequence of Tiflis coins from 1108 to 1124, the years wanting being 1110, 1117, 1118, and 1123.

I noticed a variation in the distich—

گشت سکه از توفیق رب المشرقین
در جهان کلب امیر المؤمنین سلطان حسین

by the substitution of درگاه for جهان. An Isfahan coin bore the inscription—

زد ز توفیق حق بچهره زر
سکه سلطان حسین دین پرور

TAHMASP II. 1722-1731 A.D. = 1135-1144 A.H.

Tahmasp probably reduced the abbasi from 114 grains to 85.5, which was done at very little cost, as the 3-shahi coin became 4 shahis, and 3 abbasis of 114 grains were equivalent to 4 abbasis of 85.5 grains. This, however, may have taken place during the last years of the reign of his unfortunate father.

The weights of coins are—

Highest	82.7	40.9
Lowest	65.5	40.9
Average	80.3	40.9 (1)

The Afghans Mahmud and Ashraf issued a coin of 72 grains.

ABBAS III. 1731-1736 A.D. = 1144-1148 A.H.

The coins which bear the name of Abbas III are of 85·5 grains; the highest weight is 83·2, the lowest 76·1, and the average 79·9 (5).

NADER. 1736-1747 A.D. = 1148-1160 A.H.

Nader first issued the coin of 85·5 grains and its half, but a year after his accession he reformed the whole currency of Persia, and innovated an abbasi of 72 grains. Weight: highest, 82·5, 41·7; lowest, 79·8, 41·7; average, 80·6 (7), 41·7 (1).

HATEM.

Under Tahmasp I, Amireh Hatem, Chief of Kohdom, in Gilan, seized Resht, the capital of Biehpas, took the title of Shah Hatem, had the Khutbeh read in his name, and struck coin. The distich of his seal was—

جهان كه وسعت او صد هزار فرسنگ است
به پيش چشم جهان بين همتر تنگست

Abdul Fattah Fumani, in whose History of Gilan I found the above distich, says nothing of a coin inscription. Notwithstanding two years' research, I have been unable to find any coins of this chief.

EVIDENCE OF COINS.

The following table gives the maximum weights of the various Persian coins for the period 1502-1737 A.D.:—

PERSIAN CURRENCY, 1502-1737. EVIDENCE

STANDARD 12.									STANDARD			
Multiples	8	4	2	1½	1	½	6	4	3	2		
Nakhods	96	48	24	18	12	6	60	40	30	20		
Grains	288	144	72	54	36	18	180	120	90	60		
Ismail I	(1) 288	142·8	72·5	53·4			(2) 156·2	120·7	80	60·5		
Tahmasp I	(4)		72·4		35·1		(3)	121	92·2			
Ismail II	(5)		72		32·5							
Mohammed Khodabende	(6)						(7)					
Abbas I		143·7					(8) 177·7	118·4		59·4		
Sefi I								119·7		59·5		
Abbas II												
Sefi II or Soleiman I												
Sultan Husein I												
Mahmud	(12)		71									
Ashraf	(13)		70									
Tahmasp II												
Abbas III												
Nader												
Ahmed (Kerman)												

The numbers in brackets show the chrono

OF COINS—MAXIMUM WEIGHT (SILVER).

ARD 10			STANDARD 9.5.											
1½	1	½	180	30	20	15	10	5	4	3	2	1½	1	¾
15	10	5	1710	285	190	142.5	95	47.5	38	27.5	19	14½	9½	3.8
45	30	15	5130	855	570	427.5	285	142.5	114	85.5	57	42½	28.5	11.4
46.4	30.2													
		14												
		(9)			566.9			141.8	113.2		52.4	41.5	27.4	
		(10)			561.9		285.1		115	89.2	48.7		29	11.6
		(11)	4918	836.6		401.2	264	134.5	114.8	83.5	57.3		28.3	11.5
		(12)								82.7		40.9		
		(13)								83.2				
		(14)								82.5		41.7		

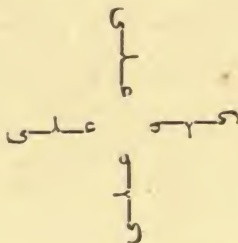
logical order of the various currencies.

The most interesting coins, hitherto unpublished, which I examined were ³—

ISMAIL I.

1. Kashan, 912.

Obv.—Enclosed within border of many foils—



and within the four compartments thus formed—

محمد حسن | محمد حسين | محمد جعفر | محمد حسن

Margin, in four cartouches—

لا اله الا اله | محمد رسول الله | على ولي الله
سنة اثنين عشر وتسعمائة

Rev.—

السلطان العادل الى
الكامل الهادي الو
ابو المظفر شاه اسمعيل
بهادر خان الصفوي خلد الله
ملكه وسلطانه ضرب في بلده
كاشان ٩١٢

R. 1.1. Wt. 279.

³ A number with "B.M." prefixed refers to that number in Reginald S. Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Shahs of Persia in the British Museum*. A number with no letters prefixed refers to coins described in the present list.

TAHMASP I.

2. Kazvin, date obliterated.

Obv.—Within pear-shaped border—

^ه
 پدشاه قزوین i.e. شا قزوین

Margin—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله على ولي الله

Rev.—Area—

ه
 سب
 طهما
 شا

Margin—

السلطان العادل ابو المظفر بهادر خان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

R. 0·65. Wt. 32·9.

Other coins of the same mint have on the obverse differently shaped borders.

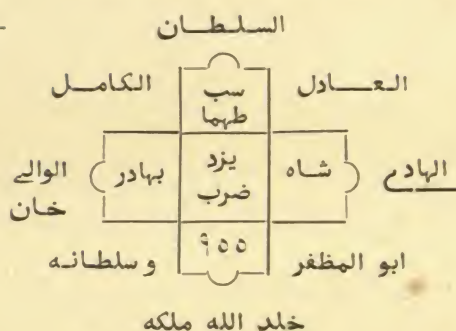
3. Yezd, 955.

Obv.—Area—

الله
لا اله الا محمد ولي
 رسول الله
 على الله

Margin : names of Imams.

Rev.—



R. 0.75. Wt. 70.5.

SULTAN MOHAMMED KHODABENDEH.

4. Kazvin, date obliterated.

Obv.—Similar to No. 2.

Rev.—Area within quarterfoil border—

ن محمد
شا
سلطا

Margin—

السلطان الكامل الهادي ابو المظفر بن طهما سب شاه

R. 0.7. Wt. 31.4.

5. Similar, but margin on reverse—

السلطان الكامل الهادي الوالي ابو المظفر بهادر خان

ABBAS I.

6. Erivan, 1026.

Obv.—B.M. 30, but رسول, not نبی.

Rev.—B.M. 30, but ends—

عباس یون
ضرب

Margin—

خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و عدله و احسانه

R. 0·8. Wt. 118.

I find 21 coins representing varieties of this type. The reverse margin has sometimes a slightly different inscription. The mints are Isfahan, Bagdad, Tabriz, Tiflis, Ardebil.

Of B.M. 29 I find two varieties: Shushter, 1005, and Astarabad. The obverse differs; on the reverse the Astarabad coin has for margin, inscription of coin 6, whilst that of Shushter has—

خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و على العالمين بره و احسانه

7. Mazanderan, 1037.

Obv.—6.

Rev.—

سکه را
از بهر خزاین علی
مازندران زد
عباس ۱۰
کلمه
ضرب

R. 0·85. Wt. 118.

There are four varieties of this coin, the arrangement of the letters on the reverse differing.

SHAH SEFI I.

8. Tabriz, 1039.

Obv.—B.M. 34.

Rev.— از غلام شاه
 جان
 هست صفی
 ضرب تبریز ۹۳۰

R. 0·85. Wt. 120.

I find a great variety of these coins, and it is possible that the engraver marked his dies for some unknown reason. Thus I find under *م* of غلام the following signs:—



9. Kazvin, 1040.

Obv.—B.M. 36.

Rev.— شاه صفی
 از جان غلام
 هست
 ضرب قزوین ۱۰۴۰

R. 0·85. Wt. 120.

From which we obtain the true reading of Shah Sefi's title.

SOLEIMAN I.

10. Tabriz, 1082.

Obv.—B.M. 50.

Rev.—

اعدا
زد ز
سنگه صاحبقران
—————
زامتحان شه سلیمان جهان
—————
صر تبریز ۱۰۸۲

R. 1. Wt. 114.2.

SHAH SULTAN HUSSEIN.

11. Isfahan, 1106.

Obv.—B.M. 88, within ornamental border and no margin.*Rev.*—

زد زتوفیق خق بچهره زر
—————
۱۱۰۶
سلطان حسین دین پرور
—————
صر اصفهان

R. 1.05. Wt. 114.8.

Amongst many coins with the reverse B.M. 97, I find one Shemakhi coin.

ABBAS III.

12. Shiraz, 1147. Similar to B.M. 211, but date and mint differ.

H L. RABINO.

Resht, 1908.

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

GREEK COINS FOUND IN ENGLAND.

DURING the winter of 1904-5, while excavating in a field at Godmanchester, Hunts, I found, among coins of the Roman Empire, two Greek coins, of which figures are given below. The small field is situated a little to the west of the junction of the two Roman roads—the Ermine Street and the so-called "Via Devana," which runs from Cambridge to Chester—and is on the north side of the old Roman station Durolipons, the modern Godmanchester.



1. Laconia. 1st cent. B.C.

Obv.—TIMANΔPOC. Head of Apollo r., laureate, hair rolled back.

Rev.—AA. Artemis l., leaning on spear; beside her a hound; between monograms effaced: all in wreath.

Æ 1-15. Cf. B.M. Catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, p. 126, No. 56.



2. The Arcadians. Antinous d. c. 130 A.D.

Obv.—BETOY ΠΙOC. Bust of Antinous r.

Rev.—TOIC APKACI. Horse trotting r.

Æ 75. B.M. Catalogue, *Peloponnesus*, p. 177, No. 89.

I am indebted to the Rev. W. G. Searle, M.A., of Cambridge, and to Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., for the identification of the coins.

The discovery of a Greek coin in England is a very rare thing, but to find two together is most remarkable.

The probable explanation of the find is as follows:—

Some Roman gentleman or official, who had been stationed in Greece, when travelling through Britain, may have stayed with friends in Durolipons, at the villa which, judging by the articles I dug up, formerly existed close to this spot, and dropped the coins in the small cemetery where they were found.

The Roman coins found in the same place lying loose in the earth just above the urns, are nine in number.

Domitian, *Æ*². Very much worn. COS. V. = 76 A.D.

Hadrian, *Æ*¹. Good condition. COS. III. = 119 A.D.

Gallienus, billon. 253-268 A.D.

Victorinus, *Æ*². 265-267 A.D.

Tetricus (Junr.), *Æ*². 267-273 A.D.

Carausius, *Æ*². 287-293 A.D.

Constantine, *Æ*². 306-337 A.D.

Constantius II, *Æ*². 337-361 A.D.

VRBS ROMA, *Æ*².

Among the ashes in one of the urns was a burnt *Æ*² of Gallienus.

The urns, coins, and other articles which I dug from this cemetery have been placed on loan in the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Cambridge.

The whole find will be fully dealt with in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society for next session.

F. G. WALKER.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

NUMISMATIQUE CONSTANTINIENNE. Iconographie et Chronologie. Description historique des émissions monétaires. Jules Maurice, Paris. (Ernest Leroux, 1908.)

THE coinage of Constantine the Great and his contemporaries remains to us in immense quantities. The art displayed on it is for the most part very poor, and the types employed trite and oft-repeated ; and it offers at first sight few attractions to the collector, by whom, and even by the most serious student, it has been somewhat neglected. It has been left to M. Jules Maurice to show, in the work now under review, what an extraordinary amount of interest in fact attaches to a detailed numismatic study of the period.

With the formation of the first tetrarchy by Diocletian and the reform of the Roman coinage, we find the practice of using mint-marks systematized and enlarged till the reverse of almost every coin bears either on the field or in the exergue, letters or signs indicating the monetary office and mint from which it came, and the series to which it belonged.

This system is the keystone of M. Maurice's work, and has enabled him to separate the various issues of each mint and arrange them in order of date.

Readers of the principal European Numismatic Journals have for several years been familiar with the papers contributed by M. Maurice, in which are embodied the results of such arrangement. The first of these papers dealt with the Mint of Antioch, and was published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* in 1899. Alexandria, London, Heraclea, Nicomedia, and Siscia have been dealt with in the same publication ; and papers on Aquileia, Arles, Carthage, Constantinople, Cyzicus, Lyons, Ostia, Rome, Serdica, Sirmium, Tarragona, Thessalonica, and Treves have appeared on the Continent. The whole of these papers are to be collected in the book of which the first volume has now appeared.

The mints are dealt with in detail, and their issues are catalogued from the formation of the second tetrarchy, consisting of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximian as Augusti and Severus II and Maximinus Daza as Caesars, down to the proclamation of Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans as Augusti. The period covered is therefore from May 1, 305, down to September 9, 337, nearly four months after the death of Constantine the Great. Some mints were active during the whole of this period, others during part of it only. All the historical evidence available is collected, critically examined, and compared with that afforded by the coins themselves, and upon this mass of evidence is based a chronological classification which is in the main entirely convincing. References to authorities are very freely given, and the author's accuracy can therefore be easily tested.

The value of the science of Numismatics as the handmaid, perhaps the sister, of History becomes extraordinarily apparent under the skilful hand of the author. The coins support, confirm, and, in some cases, correct and amplify the statements of the historians to a remarkable extent. The rise and termination of the power of each Emperor; the intrusions of pretenders; the journeys, quarrels, struggles, and reconciliations of the contending parties, and many other incidents are reflected in the coinage, and bear their share in fixing the date of each piece. The author lays much stress, for instance, on the evidence of the gradual conversion of the Empire to Christianity during the period in question, and points out how the old pagan types gradually disappeared from the coins, giving place to others which, if not always distinctly Christian, were at least colourless and inoffensive to either party, and he shows how Christian symbols appear as series marks, probably used by moneyers who had embraced the new faith, before they were embodied in the type itself. One may almost doubt whether he does not set too high a value on the personal Christianity of Constantine. That astute ruler saw a large number of the subjects of the empire suffering persecution for their religious faith without any protector among his colleagues, and at once grasped the fact that his own power would be greatly strengthened if he could attach them to his party. He issued emancipatory edicts, it is true, but the coins at least do not suggest by their types the religious enthusiasm one would look for from a convinced convert. It would rather seem that he was first Emperor and then Christian.

At the end of the chapter devoted to each mint will be
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found a useful table showing at a glance the dates of its successive issues, the denominations of coins of which they consisted, and the mint-marks which they bore. M. Maurice admits that he has not entirely solved the riddle of the mint-marks of the fourth century, and a glance at these tables leads one to consider whether the true interpretation of the marks which appear to indicate series rather than mints or offices, may not prove to be simpler and of more purely monetary significance than some modern writers anticipate.

The author is not responsible for the first application to these marks of the description, "*lettres secrètes*," nor for the mystery which it seems to shed over letters and signs which were, it may well be, selected almost at haphazard by the various moneyers to distinguish their work. Is it necessary, for instance, to see in the letters S. F. on a coin already dedicated to Moneta, a commemoration of Flavian security, when the asterisks, crescents, and crosses on the field of other coins can hardly be anything else but simple series marks, and when it is remembered that S. F. and other similar marks can be found on coins struck before the elevation of the Flavian family to power? The author himself puts forward his explanation of these obscurities but tentatively, and thus almost gives a negative answer to the above question. The fact that certain of such marks are shown to refer to the Jovian and Herculean lines does not, it is submitted, involve the necessity of attributing to all such marks anything more than a monetary significance.

The value of the work before us is by no means confined to the collection in convenient form of important papers hitherto scattered, for the book also contains an Introduction and an Iconography of the Emperors, both of which are of great interest. The Introduction deals first with the administration of the mints, the artificers employed, and the issue by those artificers of unauthorized money struck outside the mints. The "*anatomie*" of the money and the mint-marks thereon are treated of, and an analysis is made of the monetary systems of the period, showing the dates of the changes and the variation of the weights of the coins. Next follows a most useful detailed chronology of the period giving the precise dates, so far as they can be fixed, and short accounts of all important events, and to these are subjoined lists of the obverse inscriptions employed year by year. It would add much to convenience of reference if the date of the year under consideration were in future editions printed in the margins both of this part of the work and of the chapters dealing with

the various mints. The iconographical chapters contain much valuable information, and will be of great assistance in the attribution of doubtful pieces. Most students of the period must have been puzzled by the discovery of coins which couple the effigy of one Emperor with the inscription of another. M. Maurice explains the causes which led to the issue of these coins very conclusively. The iconographical plates, which are excellent, are the subject of careful and detailed explanations, which conclude with a summary of the deductions drawn as to the distinctive features and appearance of the Emperor and Empress. These preliminary chapters occupy about one-half of the present volume; the remaining chapters deal with the mints of Rome, Ostia, Aquileia, Carthage, and Treves, each illustrated by one or two capital plates.

The researches of the author, long and careful as they have been, have not, perhaps, entirely exhausted the subject, and it may be that some of his conclusions will not satisfy all critics, but there can be no doubt that the work marks a great advance in the numismatic history of the Constantinian period, and M. Maurice is much to be congratulated on the excellent result produced by so much thought and discriminating labour.

P. H. W.

COINS AND HOW TO KNOW THEM. By Gertrude Burford Rawlings. (Methuen and Co.)

THIS work is similar in its conception to Miss Rawlings's previous volume on numismatics, *The Story of the British Coinage*, which was published in 1898, and of which a notice was given in the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. The present work is a much more ambitious venture, as the author's aim has been to give a general view of ancient, mediæval, and modern coinages, the last including those of Great Britain and Ireland, and the United States of America. In order to deal with such a wide subject within a very limited compass, Miss Rawlings has had to exercise conciseness and to confine herself to simple statements, putting on one side the expression of any particular theories. A short introductory chapter is supplied to most of the sections, in each case dealing with the subject in a general manner. For instance, in the section on Greek Coins, we have a brief account of the origin of currency, a list of the various denominations, the early coin-types and their origin, and the general arrangement of the series. On this last point Miss

Rawlings has abandoned the usual geographical order employed by Eckhel, which has since his time been generally adopted, that is, beginning from the West and gradually working Eastwards. This classification may be a convenient one, but it is certainly not scientific, as the coinages of Spain, Gaul, and Britain are for the most part only crude adaptations of more ancient pieces. The starting-point is, therefore, Lydia, the supposed birthplace of money, and from that district Miss Rawlings travels back through Asia Minor to the Islands, European-Greece, and so on to Italy and Sicily, &c.; or, to use her own words, "to follow the spread of the invention as nearly as may be into European Greece and Italy, working back to Africa, to Syria, Persia, and thence to India." Each district is therefore separately considered, the more important towns are mentioned, and under each one its more important coin-types. To enter into any detail was an impossibility. The Roman section is dealt with in a similar manner: that relating to the republican series being treated absolutely chronologically, a few of the more important changes in each period being mentioned together with a description of some of the most striking types of the coins. In the English, Irish, and Scottish sections Miss Rawlings is perhaps more on her own ground, and she gives an admirable epitome of this series of numismatics which will certainly earn her the gratitude of the young collector or beginner. He will also find many useful tables giving lists of the Roman Emperors with their dates; abbreviated legends on Roman coins; mint-names on English, Irish, and Scottish coins; together with translations of the legends, etc. The chapter on Tokens could well have been a little more extended; and as to the Tables of Values of Coins, we certainly think that the prices throughout are somewhat lower than what we should expect to pay for the coins at a public sale. The work is illustrated with 35 plates, giving the more important pieces in each section. With respect to these we must say that we are not partial to the black background. The illustrations may stand out a little more prominently, but the dark surface is not pleasing to the eye. We have no hesitation in congratulating Miss Rawlings on the accomplishment of a somewhat difficult task, and for its general accuracy we can recommend the volume to those for whom it is more specially intended.

H. A. G.

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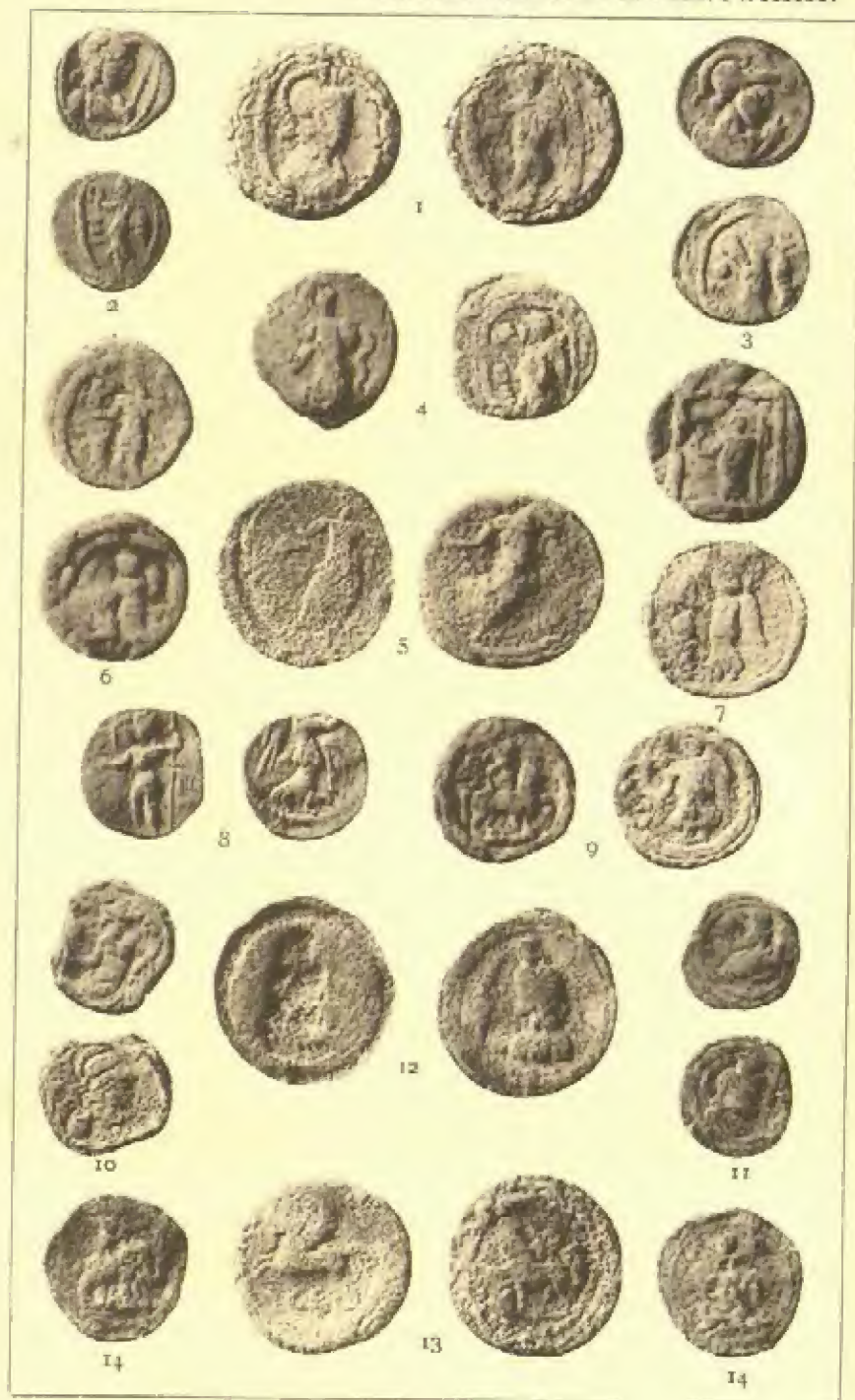
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END OF VOL. VIII.



LEADEN TOKEN-COINAGE OF EGYPT
UNDER THE ROMANS



1

JEWEL IN THE COLL. OF
MR. J. PIERPONT MORGAN



1



2



2



3



3

JEWEL AND MEDALS ASSIGNED TO NICHOLAS HILLIARD



SECOND GREAT SEAL OF ELIZABETH, BY NICHOLAS HILLIARD



COUNTER-SEAL OF SECOND GREAT SEAL OF ELIZABETH
BY NICHOLAS HILLIARD



DRAWING FOR A GREAT SEAL OF ELIZABETH, BY NICHOLAS
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- 1893 LOEBBECKE, HERR A., Cellerstrasse, 1, Brunswick.
- 1904 MAURICK, M. JULES, 33, Rue Washington, Paris.
- 1898 MILANI, PROF. LUIGI ADRIANO, Florence.
- 1908 MOWAT, COMMANDANT ROBERT KNIGHT, 10, Rue des Feuillar-
tines, Paris.

ELECTED

- 1899 PICK, DR. BEHRENDT, Münzkabinet, Gotha.
 1895 REINACH, M. THÉODORE, 9, Rue Hammelin, Paris.
 1891 SVORONOS, M. J. N., Conservateur du Cabinet des Médailles,
 Athens.
 1886 WEIL, DR. RUDOLF, Schöneberger Ufer, 38, III., Berlin, W.

MEDALLISTS

OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

- 1883 CHARLES ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A.
 1884 AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.
 1885 EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., F.R.S.
 1886 MAJOR-GENERAL ALEXANDER CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I., C.I.E.
 1887 JOHN EVANS, Esq., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., P.S.A.
 1888 DR. F. IMHOOF-BLUMER, Winterthur.
 1889 PROFESSOR PERCY GARDNER, Litt.D., F.S.A.
 1890 MONSIEUR J. P. SIX, Amsterdam.
 1891 DR. C. LUDWIG MÜLLER, Copenhagen.
 1892 PROFESSOR R. STUART POOLE, LL.D.
 1893 MONSIEUR W. H. WADDINGTON, Sénateur, Membre de l'Institut,
 Paris.
 1894 CHARLES FRANCIS KEARY, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 1895 PROFESSOR DR. THEODOR MOMMSEN, Berlin.
 1896 FREDERIC W. MADDEN, Esq., M.R.A.S.
 1887 DR. ALFRED VON SALLE, Berlin.
 1898 THE REV. CANON W. GREENWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A.
 1899 MONSIEUR ERNEST BABELON, Membre de l'Institut, Con-
 servateur des Médailles, Paris.
 1900 PROFESSOR STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A., Litt.D.
 1901 S. E. BARON WLADIMIR VON TIESSENHAUSEN, St. Petersburg.
 1902 ARTHUR J. EVANS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., Keeper of the
 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
 1903 MONSIEUR GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER, Membre de l'Institut,
 Paris.
 1904 HIS MAJESTY VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY.
 1905 SIR HERMANN WEBER, M.D.
 1906 COMM. FRANCESCO GNECCHI, Milan.
 1907 HARCULAY VINCENT HEAD, Esq., D. Litt., D.C.L., Ph.D., Corr.
 de l'Inst.
 1908 PROFESSOR DR. HEINRICH DRESSER, Berlin.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.



PROCEEDINGS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1907—1908.

OCTOBER 17, 1907.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
F.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The President referred to the loss sustained by the Society in the death of Mr. Francis Whelan, who had been a Member and Fellow for many years and had earned the esteem and regard of all who knew him both in his private as well as in his business capacity.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Mittheilungen der Oesterreichischen Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillen Kunde. Jul.-Aug., 1907.

2. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 3-8, 1907.

3. Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Vol. ii. From the Trustees of the Calcutta Museum.

4. Medals relating to John Law and the Mississippi System. By B. Betts. From the Author.

5. Kongl. Vitterhets-Historie och Antiquitets-Akademien Månadsblad, 1903-1905. From the Royal Academy, Stockholm.

6. *Fornvännens-Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets-Historie och Antiquitets-Akademien*, 1906. From the Royal Academy, Stockholm.

7. *Common Greek Coins*. Vol. i. By A. W. Hands. From Messrs. Spink & Sons.

8. *Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique*. 1^{re} et 2nd trim., 1907. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.

9. *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 285-290.

10. *Revue Numismatique*. 1^{re} et 2nd trim., 1907.

11. *La Monetazione del Bronzo ad Aquileia*. By L. Laffranchi. From the Author.

12. *I diversi stili nella Monetazione romana*. By L. Laffranchi. From the Author.

13. *Le Monete di Venezia*. Pt. ii. By N. Aldobrandini Papadopoli. From the Author.

14. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*. 1^{re} trim., 1907.

15. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 3^{me} et 4^{me} livr., 1907.

16. *Thirty-seventh Annual Report of the Deputy-Master and Comptroller of the Mint*. From the Deputy-Master.

17. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. xi., Nos. 2 and 3.

18. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxvii., Pts. 2 and 3.

19. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. ii., 1907.

20. *Annual Report of the British School at Athens*. No. xii.

21. *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. Fasc. iv.-viii., 1907.

22. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*. No. xlvi.

23. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*. Vol. xxvi., Nos. 13-16.

24. Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1904-1906.

25. Numismatische Zeitschrift. Bds. xxxix., xl.

26. Ein Gedenktaler auf die Befreiung der Stadt Mainz, 1756. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

27. Das Porträt der Gabrielle d'Estrées. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

28. Tableau du Monnayage de Selinonte. By L. Forrer. From the Author.

29. Un Escalin d'Ernest de Lynden. By the Vic^e B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a half-groat of Edward IV, struck at Norwich, with the mint-mark a sun, on both sides. This coin was not known to Hawkins, and is probably unique.

Mr. Percy Webb showed a specimen of the new Dutch five-cent piece in nickel, having the royal crown on the obverse, and the value on the reverse. The coin is provided with a broad rim on both sides to preserve it from wear in currency.

Mr. Bernard Roth read a paper on "A Large Hoard of Gold and Silver Ancient British Coins of the Brigantes, found at South Ferriby, in Lincolnshire, in 1906." The hoard contained sixty-five staters of gold and forty-five coins of silver. The type of the obverse of the gold coins consists of a representation of a laureate head of very degenerate form, derived from the gold staters of Philip II of Macedon. On many specimens there exist scarcely any traces of the design. On the reverse is shown a horse, also of very rude design, which was derived from the same source as the obverse type. Of this head and horse there are numerous varieties, which were minutely described by Mr. Roth. They are also often accompanied by ornaments, consisting of stars, wheels, crescents, pellets, &c. Many of the coins show that the obverses and reverses were struck from the same dies. The silver coins, which are of far better workmanship, also have on the reverse

a horse; often very carefully and skilfully modelled. The obverse type consists of a boar, but, as in the gold, only faint traces, if any, of the design could be distinguished. Adjunct symbols, such as crescents, circles of dots, and rosettes, occur on these also. The gold coins reveal but little variation in their weights; but those of silver are divisible into three series or denominations, weighing about 17, 8, and 4 grs. respectively. The coins are assigned to the first half of the first century A.D.

In connexion with this Paper the President exhibited a series of staters of the same class from his own collection.

In the discussion which followed, Sir Henry Howorth expressed some doubt as to the attribution of these coins to the Brigantes, as they are found only on the borders of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; whereas the dominions of that tribe included Yorkshire, Lancashire, and the Northern Counties, and are described by Ptolemy as extending from sea to sea. Sir Henry Howorth therefore suggested that they were issued by the Coritani, of whose coinage little or nothing is known, or by the Parisii (Frisii?), who may have settled in that particular locality. This Paper is printed on p. 17 f. of the present volume.

NOVEMBER 21, 1907.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The Rev. Andrew B. Baird, D.D., T. L. Elder, Esq., Hilton Fulcher, Esq., Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq., and Charles T. Seltsmann, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. iii., 1907.
2. *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 291.
3. *Revue Numismatique*. 3^{me} trim., 1907.

4. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2^e trim., 1907.

5. White Hun Coins of Vyaghramukha. By Vincent A. Smith. Moga, Manes, and Veonones. By T. F. Fleet. A Point in Palaeography. By T. F. Fleet. From the Royal Asiatic Society.

6. Annual Report of the Horniman Museum, 1906. From the London County Council.

7. Anglo-Saxon Forgeries. By L. A. Lawrence. From the Author.

The President exhibited a blundered coin of Carausius, with the reverse type a figure of Tutela sacrificing at an altar, and the legend LATEVT XI (=TVTELA XXI). It is an ancient forgery.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a noble of Richard II, with a slipped trefoil on the obverse near the royal shield; a half-groat of Edward III, reading DI. GRA; and a heavy penny, struck at York, of Henry VI, with the mint-mark a cross pattée with annulet in the centre.

Mr. Hilton Price exhibited a specimen in gold of the obverse of the medal of Cromwell as Lord Protector, struck in 1650 by Thomas Simon. This medal in gold is unique.

Sir Augustus Prevost showed a bronze medal of Prince James, the "Elder Pretender," struck in 1697, at the time of the Treaty of Ryswick (*rer. ship in a storm*); and another of Prince Charles, commemorating his arrival in England in 1745.

Mr. John Pinches exhibited a medal in bronze commemorating the 700th anniversary of the foundation of Liverpool.

Mr. F. A. Walters read a Paper on "A Recent Find of Silver Coins in Hampshire." They numbered about 230, and consisted mainly of groats, with a few half-groats, ranging from the earliest issue of groats of Edward III to the "Pine-cone coinage" of Henry VI, showing that the hoard was concealed

circa. 1435. The only exceptional pieces in the find were a groat of Richard II, and two light groats of Henry IV, the others being of the usual varieties. The coins described formed only a portion of the hoard, the remainder, about one-half, having been disposed of by the finders.

Mr. T. H. B. Graham read a Paper on "The Silver Coinage of Cromwell," describing minutely not only those pieces which were struck by Thomas Simon, but also those which are attributed to John Sigismund Tanner, which are copies of Simon's pieces, and for which Tanner is said to have made dies in 1738. Mr. Graham was of opinion that Tanner did not execute the dies, but that he used copies which had been made at the Mint during the Commonwealth, the makers of them taking Simon's money as models. In a discussion which followed, Mr. Hocking, of the Royal Mint, said that as Simon did not keep his dies at the Mint, and that as such as are there now were not obtained till early in the eighteenth century, copies could not have been made in the middle of the seventeenth century. Moreover, the dies which are attributed to Tanner bear a privy mark, which is found on others which he executed in connexion with the English coinage during his appointment as Engraver to the Mint. This Paper is printed on p. 62 f. of the present volume.

DECEMBER 19, 1907.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. The Coins and Tokens of Devon. By A. J. V. Radford. From the Author.
2. The Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxvii., Pt. 2.
3. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. iv.
4. Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.

5. Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 292.

6. Medals, Jetons, and Tokens illustrative of the Science of Medicine. By Dr. G. H. Storer. From the Author.

7. Medallie Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Plates lxi.-lxx. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

Mr. Frederick A. Harrison exhibited specimens of the Roman Republican libral as, triens, and quadrans; and also a piece of the aes rude.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a sestertius of Antoninus Pius, having on the reverse Britannia seated, holding a spear, and resting her arm on a shield; across the field BRITAN, and around IMPERATOR II. This coin came from the Huxtable, Allen, and Mackerell Collections (see p. 194).

The President exhibited a medal of Oscar II of Sweden, issued by the Swedish Numismatic Society, and commemorating his jubilee, September 18, 1897.

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a series of silver, nickel, and bronze coins struck by the United States of America for the Philippine Islands in 1903.

Dr. Headlam read a Paper entitled "Some Notes on Sicilian Coins," in which he described an unpublished variety of a Syracusan tetradrachm with the four-horse chariot and a female head (Persephone), the obverse type showing great resemblance to similar coins of Gela. In the exergue on the obverse is an olive-branch; and as this symbol is also found on contemporary pieces of Gela, Dr. Headlam suggested that it might refer to the truce between Gela and Camarina in 421 B.C., in which other cities of Sicily joined, amongst which was Syracuse. The writer also discussed the date of the signed tetradrachms of Syracuse, and was of opinion that the beginning of the period of fine art and of signed coins should be put about the year 420 B.C. He referred to the great

resemblance between the coins of Syracuse, Gela, and Leontini struck during the tyranny of Gelon. These have a uniform obverse type consisting of a quadriga; but each city adopted a special and appropriate design for the reverse. Dr. Headlam considered this coinage to be dynastic, and not to consist of independent issues of the three cities. Mention was also made of a copper coin of Syracuse having on the obverse the head of Pan, and on the reverse a syrinx. This Paper is printed on p. 1 f. of the present volume.

JANUARY 16, 1908.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxvi., Heft 3.
2. Revue Belge de Numismatique, 1908. 1^{re} livr.
3. Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 293.

The President exhibited a series of bronze denarii of Carausius, all struck on large flans, with reverse types of Victory, Hilaritas, Laetitia, Mars, Sol, &c. The coins were in fine condition and well patinated.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed six ancient Gaulish staters with plain obverse and with a horse of rude design on the reverse, together with four gold bullet-shaped pieces which had been cast in moulds, and were intended to be used as flans for coins. These pieces as well as the coins formed a portion of a hoard which was stated to have been discovered near Soissons.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a series of angels of Henry VI, struck during his restoration, 1470–71, one piece being of the Bristol mint.

The President communicated some notes on a recent find

at Timsbury, near Romsey, Hants, of British and Roman Imperial bronze coins. The British coins were of the so-called "Hod Hill" type (rude laureate head and degraded form of a horse surrounded by pellets). The Imperial bronze coins extended from Agrippa to Domitian, the latest being struck *circ.* 90 A.D. The find is of interest, as it shows that British and Roman Imperial coins passed in currency together till nearly the end of the first century A.D. (see above, p. 80). In connexion with this Paper Mr. H. Guillaume exhibited four similar British coins recently found on the site of the Roman city Clausentum (Bitterne), near Southampton, together with bronze coins of the Roman Emperors Claudius I and Nero.

Mr. G. F. Hill communicated a Paper on two hoards of Roman coins found in England. The first consisted of bronze coins of the Tetrarchy (Diocletian, Maximian Hercules, Constantius I, and Galerius) discovered on the Brooklands motor-track, Weybridge. All the coins were *folles*, numbering 136, and had been struck in London and at Aquileia, Tarraco, Lyons, Treves, and Alexandria. They ranged in date from *circ.* 296 to 307 A.D., and were mostly of the "Genio Populi Romani" type. The mints more fully represented were those of Treves (75 pieces), London (30), and Lyons (21). The second hoard consisted of 337 silver coins, *siliquae*, found some years ago at Icklingham, Suffolk. They were of the second half of the fourth century A.D. and of the beginning of the fifth, *circ.* 364–408 A.D., *i.e.* from Julian II to Arcadius. The mints represented were those of Treves, Lyons, Arles, Milan, Rome, Aquileia, and Siscia, two-thirds of the coins being of the first mint. This hoard had evidently been buried about the time of the departure of the Roman legions from Britain, and may have formed part of a military chest or have been the private property of a Roman soldier of high rank. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *s.a.* 418, it is mentioned that in that year the Romans collected all the treasure that they had in Britain, and some they buried, so

that no man might find it again, but some they carried away with them to Gaul.

Mr. Percy Webb read some notes on Roman bronze *tesserae*, or tickets, which he exhibited. These he divided into three classes: Imperial (*i.e.* with the names of the Emperors or Empresses), mythological, and gaming (*i.e.* pertaining to games). Some of them may have been used as tickets of admission to public resorts, including the public games; others may have served as counters in games of lottery. As Mr. Webb proposes to deal more fully with this subject, he expressed a wish that collectors would place at his disposal, for purposes of description, any pieces they may possess. By the examination of a considerable number it may be possible to arrive at more definite conclusions as to the purpose these *tesserae* were intended to serve.

FEBRUARY 20, 1908.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The Rev. Canon H. Calleja-Schembri, D.D., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxvii., Sec. C, Nos. 1-3.
2. Patterns struck at the Royal Mint for Canada. By R. W. McLachlan. From the Author.
3. *Monete romane*. 3rd ed. By Comm. Fr. Gnechi. From the Editor.
4. *Archaeologia Aeliana*. Ser. iii., Vol. iii."
5. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxvii., Pt. 4.
6. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. xi., No. 4; and the Annual Reports for 1906, 1907.
7. *The Canadian Antiquarian*. Vol. v., No. 1.

8. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. iv., 1907.
9. *Revue Numismatique*. 4^{me} trim., 1907.
10. Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1906.
11. *Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 294.
12. *Mittheilungen der Oestern Gesellschaft für Münz- und Medaillen Kunde*. No. 12.
13. *Sitzungsberichte der numismatischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin*, 1907.
14. *Coins and Medals of the Knights of Malta*. By Rev. Canon H. Calleja-Schembri. From the Author.
15. *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 3^{me} trim., 1907.

The President exhibited a series of shekels and half-shekels of the time of the Maccabees.

Mr. T. Bliss showed some ancient British coins in gold, silver, and bronze, from his collection, of Epaticcus, Verica, Tincommius, Tasciovanus, and Cunobelinus.

Sir Augustus Prevost submitted a pattern penny, dated 1874, of the South African Republic.

Mr. Lionel M. Hewlett read the third portion of his treatise on "Anglo-Gallic Coins," which dealt with those struck by Edward the Black Prince, Richard II, and Henry IV. The coins of the Black Prince were issued by virtue of a charter of Edward III, by which he raised the Duchy of Aquitaine into a Principality, and created the Black Prince, Prince of Aquitaine. The charter contained an express grant of the right to coin money. The gold coins of the Black Prince consisted of a leopard, guiennois, and écu of the same types as his father's, and a pavilion and hardi which were of new types. There was also a gold noble of the same type as the English noble. The silver coins consisted of a gros, demi-gros, sterling, and hardi. The mints in use were Agen, D'Aix, Bordeaux, Figeac, Limoges, Poitiers, Rochelle,

and Tarbes. The coins of Richard II and Henry IV were not so numerous, and Bordeaux appeared to be the only mint employed during those reigns. This Paper is printed on p. 102 f. of the present volume.

MARCH 19, 1908.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

T. Henry Williams, Esq., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles. By J. Sundwall. From the Author.
2. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. xxvii., Sec. C, No. 4.
3. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 1^{re} livr., 1908.
4. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxvi., Heft 3.
5. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4^{me} trim., 1907.
6. Monatsblatt der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 296.
7. Report on the Progress and Condition of the United States National Museum for the year ending June 30, 1907, under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution.
8. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London. Vol. xxi.
9. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xlii., No. 2.

The President exhibited a silver plaque of Sir Francis Drake, which has been issued by the American Committee on the Publication of Medals, to form one of a series designed to commemorate notable events in the history of America. On the obverse is the portrait of Drake, and the reverse consists of a representation of America adapted from the remarkable silver map-medal which was issued soon after Drake's famous

voyage round the world, 1577-80. The medal struck under the direction of the American Committee is the work of Professor Rudolf Marschall, Royal Medallist to the Court of Austria.

Mr. L. Forrer showed a selection of bronze medals and plaquettes by the Belgian artist Godefroid Devresse, and a plaquette by the sculptor Charles Samuel on the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Congo Free State.

Lady Evans read a Paper on a "Memorial Badge of Anne Eldred," dated 1678. This badge, which consists of two embossed plates united by a rim, has for the obverse type a shield with the arms of Eldred impaling Godman; and on the reverse a veiled seated female figure holding a skull, and resting her arm on a pedestal which supports an urn, with the motto, "A wise woman buildeth her house." Anne Eldred was the daughter of Thomas Godman of Leatherhead, in Surrey, and of the Inner Temple. The most notable member of the Eldred family was one John, a great traveller, who in search of a fortune visited Tripoli, Aleppo, Bagdad, Antioch, and other places. He started on his journey in 1583, and returned in 1588 in the *Hercules*, "the richest ship of English merchant's goods that ever was known to come into the realm." He was one of the original subscribers to the East India Company, and a member of its first Court of Directors. The diarist of the family was John, the eldest son of Anne Eldred, whose death is commemorated by the medal. From a copy of his diary, which is preserved in the British Museum, Lady Evans was able to supply many interesting incidents connected with the Eldred family. This Paper is printed on p. 178 f. of the present volume.

APRIL 23, 1908.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *Revue Suisse de Numismatique*. Vol. xii., 2^{de} livr.

2. *Revue Numismatique*. 1^{er} trim., 1908.
3. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 2^{de} livr., 1908.
4. *Académie royale de Belgique*. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres*. Nos. 9-12, 1907; and *Annuaire*, 1908.
5. *Monnaies Luxembourgeoises inédites*. By the Vic^e B. de Jonghe. From the Author.
6. *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1907.
7. *American Journal of Archaeology*. Vol. xii., No. 1.
8. *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Vol. xxxviii., Pt. 1.
9. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*. Vol. xli.
10. *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*. 2 Vols. By Warwick Wroth. From the Trustees of the British Museum.
11. *Priced Catalogues of Coin Sales by Messrs. Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge*, during the season of 1906-7. 3 Vols. From Thomas Hodge, Esq.

Mr. T. Bliss exhibited a series of Northumbrian pennies of Siefred, Anlaf, and Regnald II, and others of the Cunetti type; also an aureus of the Emperor Trajan, commemorating the restoration of the kingdoms of Armenia and Parthia, the reverse exhibiting the Emperor receiving the ambassadors of those countries. The obverse type, head of the Emperor, differs from any published specimens of this coin in the Imperial titles. This coin came from a hoard recently found in London.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a half-noble of Edward III, with a trefoil on the reverse above the lion in the third angle of the cross; a late noble of Henry IV, with characteristic square lettering on the obverse; and a quarter-noble of the same reign, with a crescent above the shield on the obverse.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a sestertius of Augustus issued at Lyons, and struck on a large flan.

Sir John Evans read a Paper on "Some Rare or Unpublished Roman Gold Coins" in his collection. Amongst them were aurei of the Antistia gens, recording the public vows offered for the safe return of Augustus from his Gaulish campaign in 16 B.C. (only one other specimen of this coin is known); of Antoninus Pius, recording the *primi decennales*; of Pescennius Niger, with the reverse type *Fortuna redux*; of Septimius Severus, recording his return, and that of his sons Caracalla and Geta, from Syria, 202 A.D.; of Balbinus, with the reverse type of Victory (the second of the only two gold coins known of that Emperor, both of which are in the collection of Sir John Evans); and a solidus of Magnus Maximus, struck in London, but giving the name of "Augusta" to that city, which it received at the end of the fourth century A.D. This Paper is printed on p. 85 f. of the present volume.

Lady Evans read a Paper on "A Silver Plaque of Charles I as Prince." This plaque, which is unique, measures $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 4 ins., and is engraved on one face with a representation of Prince Charles on horseback, and on the other with the Prince of Wales's plumes. It resembles in many respects an engraving by Renold Elstrack, which was executed in 1614-15, and on which no mention is made of the Prince having been created "Prince of Wales." This title is also omitted on the plaque, where the Prince is styled "Duke of York and Albany, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter." Lady Evans, after careful comparison of the plaque with smaller pieces of similar style by Simon Passe, is of opinion that, though not so elaborately finished as some of them, it is Passe's handiwork, and that it is after the engraving by Renold Elstrack. It was also suggested that it was executed at the time of the courtship of Charles and Maria, Infanta of Spain, and may have been included among the presents offered to the Princess when Charles was in Spain. When the courtship was broken off, the presents on both sides were returned, and

it is within the bounds of possibility that the plaque thus found its way back to this country.

MAY 21, 1908.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President, in the Chair.

George Cyril Brooke, Esq., B.A., and Archer M. Huntington, Esq., were elected Fellows of the Society, and M. le Majeur Robert Mowat, an Honorary Fellow.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. *La Théorie féodale de la Monnaie*. By E. Dabelon. From the Author.
2. *Monatsschrift der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. Nos. 297, 298.
3. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. i. and ii., 1908.
4. *Notices extraites de la Chronique de la Revue Numismatique*. 1^{re} trim., 1908. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.
5. *Chronique de Numismatique celtique*. By A. Blanchet. From the Author.
6. *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*. Pts. vii.-xii., 1902.
7. *Bonner Jahrbücher*. Heft 116.
8. *The Mint of Karaman*. By M. Longworth Dames. From the Author.
9. *Académie royale de Belgique*. Bulletin, No. 152, 1908.
10. *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal*. Vol. v., No. 2.
11. *A Sella Castrensis and a Military Standard of the Reign of Nero*. From Messrs. Spink & Son.

Mr. Bernard Roth exhibited a penny of Aethelred II, having for reverse type a small cross pattée with the legend

FARAMANN ON DIED. This coin may have been struck at Thetford.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin showed an example of the medal just issued for "Services during the Natal Rebellion of 1906," and specimens of the new coinages in silver, nickel, and aluminium, struck for circulation in East Africa and Uganda, and in Nigeria.

Miss Helen Farquhar read some notes on William Hole or Holle, who in 1618 was appointed "Head Sculptor of the Iron for Money in the Tower," and who, hitherto, was supposed to have held that post till the appointment of Nicholas Briot in 1633. From the "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series," it appears, however, that Holle died in 1624, and was succeeded in his office by John Gilbert and Edward Green. Miss Farquhar suggested that as the laurels, half-laurels, and quarter-laurels issued during the reign of James I are of inferior work to the rose-ryal, spur-ryal, and angel, they were not executed by Holle, but by Gilbert and Green, who worked on into the reign of Charles I. This would account for the similarity of fabric of the earlier coins of Charles I and of the later ones of James I.

Sir Henry Howorth read a Paper on "The Coins of Eggeborht and his Son Athelstane," in which it was suggested that the king hitherto known to numismatists as "Ecgerht of Kent," was the Egberht who afterwards became King of Wessex, and that he ruled over Kent for a short time before he fled to the Court of Charlemagne. It was during this short period, before 796 A.D., that some coins bearing his name were struck. A re-arrangement of the coins of Eggeborht struck after his conquest of Kent in 825 A.D. was proposed, the classification being based chiefly on the evidence of the moneyers, whose names are also met with on the coinages of previous Kings of Kent and Mercia, and of the Archbishops of Canterbury. The writer also proceeded to identify Athelstane, King of East Anglia, as a son of Eggeborht of Wessex, and suggested that when the latter

appropriated East Anglia in 825 A.D., he put his son on the throne. At the death of Ecgbeorht, Athelstane united Kent to his dominions; but he does not appear to have struck any coins there.

JUNE 18, 1908.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

John Robinson McClean, Esq., and Lieut.-Col. H. Walters Morrieson were appointed scrutineers of the ballot for the Election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year.

The following Report of the Council was then read to the meeting :—

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—The Council have again the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Royal Numismatic Society both numerical and financial.

It is with very deep regret that they have to announce the death of SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., the much-esteemed President of the Society, and of the following twelve Ordinary Fellows :—

G. M. Arnold, Esq., D.L., F.S.A.

Lieut.-Col. James Roger Bramble, J.P., F.S.A.

Mon. G. Nervegna.

William Rome, Esq., C.C., F.S.A., F.L.S.

Simpson Rostron, Esq.

Howard Saunders, Esq., F.L.S., F.Z.S.

Robert Scott, Esq.

Mons. P. C. Stroehlin.

William Theobald, Esq.

Col. Falkland Warren, C.M.G.

Herr Edward F. Weber.

Francis E. Whelan, Esq.

The Council also much regret to announce the resignation of the following seven Ordinary Fellows:—

Lady Buckley.
 Walter Davis, Esq.
 E. Alfred Jones, Esq.
 James Kirkcaldy, Esq.
 Lyman H. Low, Esq.
 Ralph Nelson, Esq.
 The Rev. Henry Aldwin Soames, M.A., F.L.S.

On the other hand, the Council have much pleasure in recording the Election of the following eight Ordinary Fellows:—

The Rev. Andrew B. Baird, D.D.
 George Cyril Brooke, Esq., B.A.
 The Rev. Canon H. Calleja-Schembri, D.D.
 Thomas L. Elder, Esq.
 Archer M. Huntington, Esq.
 Richard Cyril Lockett, Esq.
 Charles T. Seltman, Esq.
 T. Henry Williams, Esq.

And also of the following Honorary Fellow:—

Mons. Le Majeur Robert Mowat.

The number of Fellows is, therefore:—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1907	307	21	328
Since elected	8	1	9
	315	22	337
Deceased	13	—	13
Resigned	7	—	7
June, 1908	295	22	317

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the Medal of the Society to Dr. Heinrich Dressel, Co-Director of Cabinet of Coins and Medals in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum at Berlin, for his distinguished services to Numismatic Science, especially in connexion with Ancient Numismatics.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was submitted to the Meeting.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSE-

FROM JUNE, 1907,

Dr.

THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., for printing <i>Chronicle</i> , August, 1907	47	12	7						
" " December, 1907	86	12	6						
" " March, 1908	46	2	0						
				180	7	1			
" University Press (Plates), October, 1907	28	3	6						
" Ditto (ditto), March, 1908	24	10	6						
" " May, 1908	9	1	6						
				61	15	6			
" Artist Illustrators				6	4	6			
" Mr. F. Anderson, drawings				3	0	0			
							251	7	1
" Books, Binding, &c.—									
C. Fox				24	7	2			
Messrs. Hachette and Co.				0	3	9			
West				0	4	0			
Quaritch				1	10	0			
Book Plate				3	18	6			
							30	3	5
" Rent, Royal Asiatic Society							30	0	0
" Insurance Premium							0	13	0
" Refreshments							11	12	8
" Engraving Medal (Pinches)							0	6	6
" Return of Subscriptions paid in error							2	2	0
" Petty Cash (Secretaries)				5	0	0			
" " (Treasurer)				2	13	11			
" " (Cheque-book)				0	4	2			
" " (Sundries)				0	4	8			
							8	2	9
" Investment of Surplus Income, Purchase of £56 London & North-Western Ry. 4 % Preference Stock							64	7	6
" Balances (Montagu Bequest Dividends)				8	15	2			
" " (General)				267	7	6			
							276	2	8

£674 19 7

MENTS OF THE ROYAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, TO JUNE, 1908.

WITH PERCY H. WEBB, HON. TREASURER.

£r.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By Balance in hand (General)	303	12	2			
" " " (Interest on Montagu Request)	6	9	7			
				310	1	9
" Subscriptions, 236 at £1 1s.	247	16	0			
" Life Subscription	15	15	0			
" Entrance Fees	5	5	0			
				268	16	0
" Sale of <i>Chronicle</i>	62	18	10			
" " Books	2	15	0			
				65	13	10
" London & North-Western Ry. Co. Dividend, June, 1884, 4 % Preference Stock:						
December, 18710, Stock	27	1	1			
" Ditto, 1856 4 % Preference Stock	1	1	3			
" Ditto 1860, Montagu Request	2	5	7			
				30	7	11
" Profit on Foreign Draft				0	0	1

£674 19 7

PERCY H. WEBB, *Hon. Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct.

HORACE W. MONCKTON, } *Hon. Auditors.*
ARTHUR H. LYELL, }

June 12, 1908.

The Reports of the Council and of the Treasurer having been adopted, Sir Henry Howorth presented the Society's Medal to Mr. H. A. Grueber to forward to Dr. Dressel, who was unable to attend the meeting. Sir Henry Howorth referred to the work which Dr. Dressel had accomplished, not only in connexion with Ancient Numismatics, but with Archaeology in general. He mentioned more especially the volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum; Instrumentum Domesticum*, Vol. xv., Parts I., II., which is an epigraphical work of the highest merit. Of Dr. Dressel's numismatic productions he drew special attention to the *Beschreibung der Antiken Münzen*, Band III., which dealt with the coinages of Italy in the Königl. Museen zu Berlin,—a work indispensable to all who are interested in Greek Numismatics; to his spirited defence of the genuineness of the *Fünf Gold-Medaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir*; to his numerous articles on Numismatics which have appeared in various learned and scientific journals; and also to his projected work on Roman coin-types, which would be a boon to students. In transmitting the Medal to Dr. Dressel, Sir Henry requested Mr. Grueber to convey to him the congratulations of the Society and their best wishes that he would long continue his numismatic researches.

In receiving the Medal of the Society, Mr. Grueber expressed regret on behalf of Dr. Dressel, who was unable to be present. He remarked that the addition of Dr. Dressel's name to the list of Medallists of the Society would be welcomed by the Fellows, and that it would be pleasing to the recipient to find himself associated with our late President, Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, Dr. Theodor Mommsen, Dr. A. Von Sallet (his predecessor in office), M. E. Babelon, Dr. Barclay Head, and many others. Mr. Grueber concluded by saying, "Before I read the letter which Dr. Dressel has addressed to me on my acquainting him of the award of the Council, I am sure,

Sir Henry, that he would wish me to thank you and to say how much this distinction is enhanced by the complimentary expressions which have accompanied the placing of the Medal in my hands." Mr. Grueber then read the following letter from Dr. Dressel :—

" Berlin, May 30th, 1908.

" DEAR SIR AND HONOURED COLLEAGUE,

" Your kind letter has brought me a surprise. I feel indeed that the Royal Numismatic Society, in awarding the Medal to me, has by far overvalued the only modest services which I have rendered to Numismatic Science. All the more, I rejoice at this valuable distinction in recognition of my sincere aims to promote our science by aiding numismatic researches.

" I regret very much not to be able to attend the meeting and to receive the Medal personally. I accept, therefore, your kind proposal to act for me on this occasion, and beg you to express to the President and to the Council how fully I appreciate the great honour conferred upon me by the Royal Numismatic Society.

" Believe me,

" Yours very truly,

" H. DRESSEL.

" To the Hon. Secretary of the R.N.S.,
Herbert A. Grueber, Esq., F.S.A."

Dr. B. V. Head next proceeded to read the following Memoir of the late President, in the name of the Council of the Society :—

SIR JOHN EVANS.

It is with deep sorrow that the Council has to announce officially to the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Numismatic Society, the death, on May 31, 1908, in his 85th year, of their late revered President, Sir John Evans.

All that they can do on the present melancholy occasion is to place on record, for the information of some of the younger Fellows of the Society, who may not be able to refer easily to the earlier volumes of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, the chief services which he has rendered to this Society and to the science of Numismatics. To give, even in outline, a sketch of his marvellous activities in other fields of research—geology, anthropology, &c., would be here out of place.

John Evans was the son of Dr. Arthur Benoni Evans, at one time Head-master of the Grammar School at Market Bosworth, in Lincolnshire. He was born at Britwell Court, Bucks., in 1823, and received the elements of his education at his father's school. At an early age he was sent to Germany to prepare for the University, his name having been entered at Brasenose College, Oxford. On his return to England, he abandoned the idea of a University career, and became associated with the firm of paper-makers now known as John Dickinson & Co., of Nash Mills, Hemel Hempsted. Some sixty-three years later, in 1903, Brasenose College made him an Honorary Fellow. At Nash Mills, in a delightful country house quite close to the paper-mills, he passed nearly the whole of his long life, until, about two years ago, he built for himself a new residence on the edge of Berkhamsted Common, where he died, after an illness which had been insidiously undermining his health for some time past, and which, at the last, involved the necessity of an operation from which he had not the strength to rally.

John Evans's eager interest in coins and coin-collecting must have dated from his earliest school-days, for, as a young man of 26, when, in 1849, he was admitted as a member of the Numismatic Society, we find him already no mere amateur collector, but a scientific numismatist, whose contribution to the *Chronicle*, in the very year of his election, at once attracted the attention of the antiquaries of those days, and more especially of John Yonge Akerman, F.S.A., at that time editor

of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. Evans's Paper on the date of the Ancient British Coins, printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. xii., was the first satisfactory explanation of the origin of the ancient British coin-types. He succeeded in proving beyond all doubt that gold coins, the types of which were of Graeco-Gaulish derivation, must have been current in some parts of Britain long before Caesar's invasion, and that the statements of Caesar and Cicero, implying the contrary, were inconclusive. In this epoch-making Paper, Evans, with rare insight anticipating the Darwinian theories of "Natural Selection" and "Typical Developments," succeeded in showing how coined money was introduced into Britain, and how the coin-types were derived from Gaulish copies of the Greek Philippi. This fertile idea of typical developments as applied to coins, was illustrated by him in many subsequent Papers in the *Numismatic Chronicle* between the years 1849 and 1864, and popularized many years later in a short paper printed in the *Transactions of the Hertfordshire Natural History Society*, Vol. iii., 1885, entitled "Coinage of the Ancient Britons, and Natural Selection." As early as 1854 Evans was elected Hon. Secretary of the Numismatic Society, an office which he held for no fewer than 20 years.

In the year 1864, at the age of 41, he brought out his *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, a standard work, which gained for him a European reputation, including the *Prix Allier de Hauteroche*, awarded to him by the French *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, on August 28, 1865. This remarkable work, together with his contributions in later years to the advancement of archaeological studies, subsequently obtained for him, in 1887, the rare honour of being chosen as a *Correspondant de l'Institut de France*.

It is unnecessary to remind the Fellows of this Society of the influence which the application of scientific methods to the study of Numismatics, as exemplified in Evans's work, has exercised, directly or indirectly, upon all who have devoted

serious attention to the changes and developments of coin-types among the semi-barbarous peoples of Western Europe in ancient and early mediæval times. Although the name of John Evans will always be chiefly famous among numismatists for this his greatest work, the *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, his numismatic studies were by no means limited to the British series. Among his numerous Papers on English Coins, perhaps the most valuable is his well-known article on "The Short-Cross Question," 1865, in which, after recapitulating the conflicting opinions of various authors with regard to the attribution of the so-called "short-cross pennies," all bearing the name of Henry, to various monarchs, he furnishes an exhaustive list of all their known mints and moneyers, compiled from a personal examination of upwards of six thousand specimens, dividing them into five main classes distinguishable from one another by slight variations in the treatment of the royal bust or head upon their obverses. The deductions which he drew from this careful and lengthy analysis were of the highest importance, for he was able to show conclusively, both on numismatic and documentary evidence, that his five classes succeeded one another in the chronological order according to which he had arranged them; that they commenced under Henry II in 1180 (Class I.), were continued under Richard Cœur de Lion (Class II.) and John (Classes III. and IV.), and that they ceased to be issued under Henry III in 1247 or 1248 (Class V.), when they were superseded by the long-cross pennies.

Sir John's other contributions to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle* during the 59 years of his membership of the Numismatic Society have been so frequent that it is quite impossible to enumerate even their titles on the present occasion. Suffice it to say that they have been more than one hundred in number, twenty-seven of which deal with Ancient British, seventeen with Anglo-Saxon, twenty-five with English, and thirty-one with Roman coins. All these papers

are concise and to the point; he never yielded to the temptation of writing for writing's sake on the one hand, or, on the other hand, of compressing his information into the unreadable and unattractive form affected by not a few erudite savants of the present day.

In the year 1851, when (after a short interval during which it was not published) the *Numismatic Chronicle* was revived under the title of "New Series," the editors (three in number) were Mr. Vaux, then President, together with John EVANS and P. W. Madden, the two Secretaries. On Mr. Madden's retirement in 1868, his place was taken by Mr. E. V. Head, and on Mr. Vaux's death, in 1885, Mr. H. A. Grueber succeeded to the vacant post, and in 1898 Prof. Rapson was also appointed as an additional co-editor.

During all this long period, and down to the present year (47 years in all), the proofs of every successive Part of the *Numismatic Chronicle* have been carefully read and revised by our lamented President, who also, at his own desire, undertook the task of compiling the necessary index for each annual volume. It is not too much to say that without his able supervision the *Numismatic Chronicle* could hardly have maintained for such a length of time its acknowledged high position, not only as the oldest, but as the most widely known periodical publication in Europe dealing with the history of the coinages of all times and of all countries.

In the year 1874 John Evans succeeded Mr. Vaux as President of the Society, and year after year he has, since that time, been unanimously re-elected. In this capacity he has delivered, at every Annual Meeting, a remarkable Address, in the course of which he has given a survey of the work done in each year in every branch of Numismatics, both in England and in foreign lands. In these admirable Addresses he has never failed in discriminating between the wheat and the chaff, nor in summarizing the most important papers in all languages and on various questions, to many of which he

had previously devoted no special attention. The crowning service, however, rendered by Sir John Evans to the old Society with which he had been connected all through his long life, remains to be mentioned; for it was mainly due to his position and influence that His Majesty the King consented to grant to the *Numismatic Society of London*, in 1904, the Royal Charter, according to the provisions of which it was re-constituted under the name of *The Royal Numismatic Society*, with His Majesty, King Edward the Seventh, as Patron.

In acknowledgment of Sir John Evans's invaluable services to the Numismatic Society, the Council has, from time to time, striven to express its gratitude. Thus, in 1887, the Society's Medal was unanimously awarded to him, and was ordered to be specially struck in gold instead of silver; and in the same year, which happened to be the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Society, the Council chose, for the obverse type of their Jubilee Medal, issued for distribution among the members of the Society, a bust of Sir John Evans, which was executed by the well-known medallist, Pinches.

But by far the finest medallic record of Sir John is undoubtedly the large cast medallion presented to him in 1899 by the Council, in commemoration of his fifty years' membership of the Society. The portrait of Sir John on this medallion, executed in high relief by Mr. Frank Bowcher, is an admirable piece of work. A half-scale photograph of it will be found in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, Pl. XI.

After reading the above Memoir, Dr. Head said:—

"I do not think I can conclude my short sketch of the numismatic career of our late much-esteemed President in a more fitting manner than by moving the following resolution of regret and condolence:—

"That the Royal Numismatic Society, at this its first Meeting since the death of its late eminent and highly esteemed President, desires to express its deep sense of the irreparable loss which it has sustained by the decease of one

who, for no less than thirty-four years, has presided over its Meetings with a distinction which has won for him the admiration and respect of all the Fellows of the Society. It is, therefore, anxious to place on record, and convey to Lady Evans and the other members of his family, its most sincere condolences, and to assure them that Sir John Evans's name will be always remembered by every Fellow of the Society as that of an ideal President, and, by those of them who were privileged to know him privately, as that of a kind friend ever willing to assist them in their studies, and to place at their disposal the wealth of accumulated knowledge treasured up in his never-failing memory."

The resolution was seconded by Sir Henry Howorth, who referred to his own long association with the late President in connexion with the Society; to the great services which Sir John had rendered to the Society, which had placed it in the front rank of such bodies; and especially to his numerous contributions to the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and to his unremitting care and assiduous zeal in keeping the *Chronicle* at so high a standard. His loss to the Society would be most keenly felt in very many ways, but, perhaps, more especially in the absence of those remarkable exhibitions from his own collections, which overflow not only with pieces of high artistic merit, but with very many of great numismatic, archaeological, and historic value. This would leave a blank at the sociable and pleasant gatherings of the Society which it would be quite impossible to fill. Sir Henry concluded in asking those present at the meeting to unite with him in seconding Dr. Head's resolution, and in expressing to the family of Sir John, and especially to Lady Evans, their feelings of sincere regret, and their assurance that one and all of them would use their best efforts to promote the interests of the Society which Sir John had guided, and over which he had presided, for so many years.

Sir Henry Howorth then announced to the meeting the result of the ballot for the Council, and the Officers for the ensuing year, which was as follows :—

President.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents.

BARCLAY VINCENT HEAD, ESQ., D.C.L., D.LITT., PH.D.

HORACE W. MONCKTON, ESQ., F.L.S., F.G.S.

Treasurer.

PERCY H. WEBB, ESQ.

Secretaries.

HERBERT A. GRUEBER, ESQ., F.S.A.

FREDERICK A. WALTERS, ESQ., F.S.A.

Foreign Secretary.

GEORGE FRANCIS HILL, ESQ., M.A.

Librarian.

OLIVER CODRINGTON, ESQ., M.D., F.S.A.

Members of the Council.

THOMAS BLISS, ESQ.

ARTHUR J. EVANS, ESQ., M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., F.R.S.,
F.S.A.

LADY EVANS, M.A.

PROF. PERCY GARDNER, M.A., LITT.D., F.S.A.

LIONEL M. HEWLETT, ESQ.

WILLIAM J. HOCKING, ESQ.

ARTHUR HENRY LYELL, ESQ., F.S.A.

GEORGE MACDONALD, ESQ., M.A., LL.D.

SIR AUGUSTUS PREVOST, BART., F.S.A.

W. BERESFORD SMITH, ESQ.

In thanking the meeting for electing him President of the Society, Sir Henry Howorth said he would like to impress on the Fellows present that one of the greatest tributes which they could pay to the memory of their late President was to keep the Society up to the standard which it had attained mainly through his energy and personal influence. This included not only attendance at the Meetings of the Society and the contribution of Papers to its Journal, but also an increase in their number. The last year had been unfortunate in this last respect, as it had been the painful duty of the Council to record heavier losses by death than at any previous Annual Meeting since the foundation of the Society.



See Vol. V.

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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